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Horace Mann *at* Antioch

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## A MESSAGE

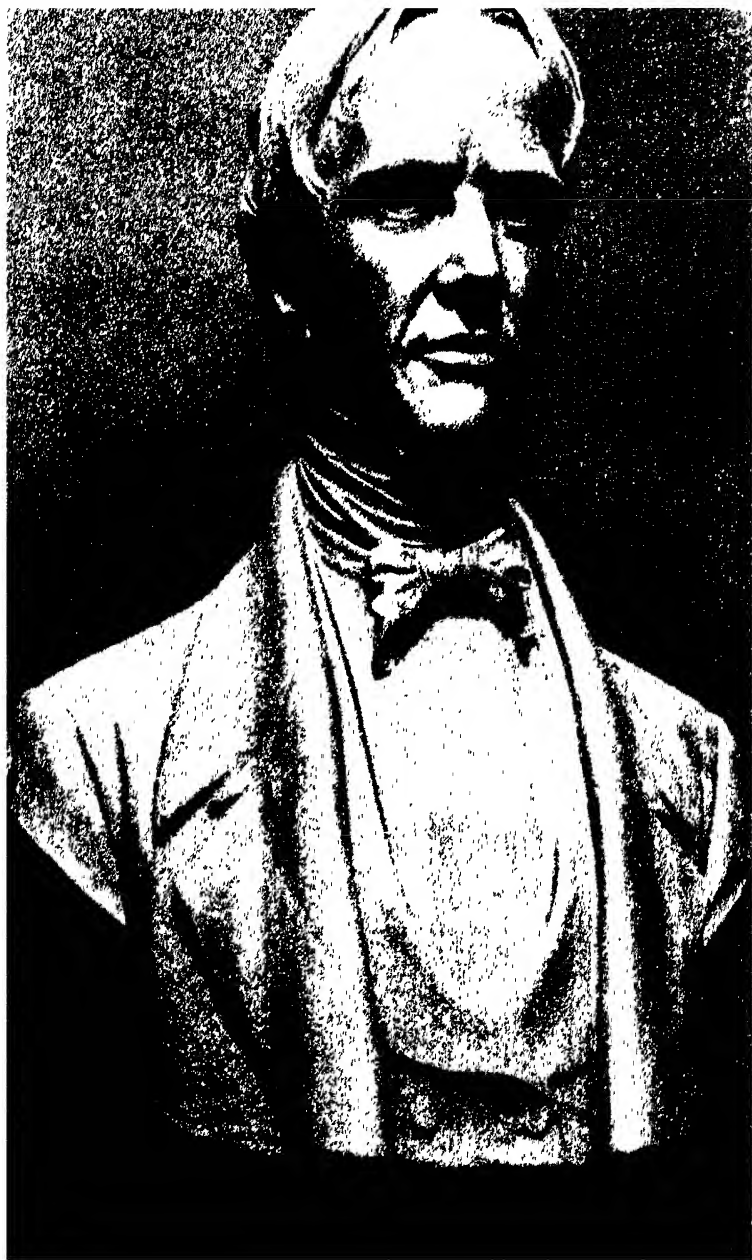
### TO THE FUTURE TEACHERS OF AMERICA

Into your keeping is given a sacred trust—the American School. The free common school is the house of the people; the temple of democracy; the bulwark of selfgovernment. To establish this house Horace Mann lived and labored triumphantly, even as Washington labored to establish the Republic, and Lincoln to preserve it. It is fitting that the Future Teachers of America movement should have grown out of the Horace Mann Centennial for you are the keepers of his great purpose, his noble ideals, his unconquerable spirit. May you ever study his inspiring life and follow in his steps.

—JOY ELMER MORGAN

.

*This frontispiece shows the bronze bust of Horace Mann which graces the Hall of Fame at New York University, New York City. The sculpture is by Adolph A. Weinman. The bust was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies on May 8, 1930, the gift of the Horace Mann League of the United States of America and the Horace Mann Schools of New York City. It replaced an earlier bust which was not satisfactory. Horace Mann was among the first twenty-nine elected to the Hall of Fame in 1900.*



# Horace Mann at Antioch

STUDIES IN PERSONALITY AND HIGHER EDUCATION; INCLUDING HORACE MANN'S ADDRESS, DEMANDS OF THE AGE ON COLLEGES; HIS DEDICATORY AND INAUGURAL ADDRESS; HIS BACCALAUREATE ADDRESSES; TWO ANTIOCH SERMONS; AND OTHER MATERIAL RELATING TO HIS LIFE

By

Joy Elmer Morgan

*Editor of The Journal of the National Education Association, and Secretary of the Horace Mann Centennial Committee*



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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

TO HUGH TAYLOR BIRCH

WHO IN BOYHOOD AS THE COMPANION  
AND PLAYMATE OF HORACE MANN'S SON,  
BENJAMIN, CAME UNDER THE INFLUENCE  
OF THE DISTINGUISHED FATHER; WHO DURING  
AN EVENTFUL LIFE OF NINETY YEARS  
HAS TREASURED UP IN HIS HEART THE  
TEACHINGS OF HORACE MANN; AND WHOSE  
KINDLY GENEROSITY HAS MADE POSSIBLE ITS  
PUBLICATION, THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED.

TO NO OTHER SINGLE INFLUENCE, *we may confidently say, is this nation more deeply indebted, than to the life and labors of this eminent, faithful, and Christian man.*—REVEREND JOSEPH H. ALLEN, 86: 89.

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## THE LIFE OF HORACE MANN

MAY 4	1796	Born at Franklin, Massachusetts.
JUNE 20	1809	Death of father, Thomas Mann, from consumption.
JULY 22	1810	Death of Horace Mann's older brother, Stephen, age 17.
	1819	Graduated from Brown University.
	1822	Entered law school, Litchfield, Connecticut.
DECEMBER	1823	Admitted to the Norfolk, Massachusetts, bar; opened law office in Dedham.
MAY	1827	Elected to Massachusetts House of Representatives.
SEPT. 29	1830	Married Charlotte Messer, daughter of the president of Brown University.
AUGUST 1	1832	Death of first wife, Charlotte Messer Mann.
	1833	Moved to Boston and opened law office; elected to Massachusetts State Senate.
	1836	Elected President, Massachusetts State Senate.
JUNE 29	1837	Appointed Secretary of the newly-created Massachusetts Board of Education.
JULY 1	1837	(Saturday) "This day I consider the first on which my official character as Secretary of the Board commences."
JULY 3	1839	Opened the first public normal school in America at Lexington, Massachusetts.
MAY 1	1843	Married Mary Peabody, later his biographer.
	1843	Visited the schools of Europe.
	1848	Succeeded John Quincy Adams in the United States House of Representatives.
SEPT. 15 OR 17	1852	Elected President of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio.
AUGUST 2	1859	Died at Antioch College.
FEBRUARY 11	1887	Death of second wife, Mary Peabody Mann.
	1896	Centennial of Horace Mann's birth.
1936, 1937, 1938		Centennial of Horace Mann's Secretaryship and beginning of Future Teachers of America.

## P R E F A C E

To place Horace Mann's work at Antioch College in the pattern of his life as a whole; to give attention to the Antioch of today and tomorrow, and to the life of Hugh Taylor Birch, the only living person who knew Horace Mann in the flesh; to make available the great utterances of Horace Mann at Antioch; and to record and preserve materials which might otherwise be lost. Such are the purposes of this book which it is hoped will be useful to all who are interested in higher education, including students who seek rightly to orient their lives; to the followers of Horace Mann; to libraries; to the faculty, students, and friends of Antioch College; and to Future Teachers of America, who if they catch the true spirit of our country's greatest educator, may preserve for American democracy a heritage no less great than the ones associated with Washington and Lincoln.

This is written in the home of Hugh Taylor Birch four miles from Yellow Springs, Ohio, where from the porch on the roof one may look across his beloved Glen Helen, over the green of the treetops, to the spires of Antioch College.

It is fitting that it should be written in the year that marks the 150th anniversary of the organization of the Northwest Territory for it was into Ohio—carved out of this territory—that Horace Mann came to make real in the lives of the people what had been written into the famous Ordinance of 1787: "Religion, morality, and

knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

It is also fitting that the publication of this book should come on the eve of the year 1939, which marks the 100th anniversary of the founding of the first public normal school in America at Lexington, Massachusetts (later moved to Framingham, where it now prepares many teachers every year). For if Horace Mann's ideals of higher education are needed in colleges which prepare for other walks of life, they are twice needed for our teachers colleges and our schools of education where high standards of character and citizenship must be maintained and spread among the people through the free public schools if selfgovernment is to endure.

This book is a continuation of the plan formed during the Horace Mann Centennial in 1937 to publish from time to time his inspired writings, most of which are still unavailable except to a few who have access to large or older libraries. The greatest need of the teacher is to discipline and perfect his own spirit for no one can teach more than he is. For this purpose the writings of Horace Mann are a veritable bible of great ideas and ideals. They should be in the library of every teacher.

Sources of material in this volume are indicated by numbers which are keyed to the references in the bibliography. The first numbers refer to the list of references, the second to pages. Thus 12: 80 means the twelfth reference on the list and page 80 of that reference.

In the preparation of such a work as this, one is under obligation to many whose contributions cannot be acknowledged. Special appreciation is due Hugh Taylor Birch without whose intelligent interest and generous support, the book could not have been published; the authorities of Antioch College, particularly President Algo D. Henderson and Bessie L. Totten, associate librarian, for their wholehearted cooperation in placing all the facilities of the college and its library at our disposal; Russell B. Stewart, citizen of Yellow Springs, for his special photographs; Robert L. Straker, able student of Horace Mann, for helpful suggestions; F. Erle Prior, for typographical design; and Eleanor Craven Fishburn, my associate on *The Journal of the National Education Association*, who has been a tower of strength to the Horace Mann Centennial celebration, who has worked with me throughout the preparation of this volume, who has prepared the bibliography and index, and has seen the book through the press.

A final word to the reader: The writings of Horace Mann were prepared at a time when people had far less opportunity than now for contact with great minds. They came tedious distances by horse and buggy and stayed through long meetings. Since papers and books were few and modern communication was unknown, the speaker had to supply the "apperceptive" background to support the points he wished to make. It was so in the Lincoln-Douglas debates. It is so in the addresses of Horace Mann. They are best read leisurely and with

meditation that the significance of the great truths may take deep root in one's mind. It is what we assimilate that counts.

JOY ELMER MORGAN

Yellow Springs, Ohio  
June 1938

# Part I

## HORACE MANN AT ANTIOCH

NO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION *in America* has a more prophetic story than *Antioch*. Here Horace Mann came in the zenith of his power, and his great heart flamed through a period of six years in the interest of his ideals. Here for the first time in the history of the world was the bold venture undertaken of establishing an institution of higher learning where the discriminations of sect, sex, and race were to be of no value. It was an ideal worthy of the greatest prophet of education the United States has ever known. It was an ideal worthy the democracy dreamed of in the Declaration of Independence, in the minds of the Adamses and of Jefferson. Back of him was the tide of prophecy, the rising interest in science, the growing freedom of thought, surely a backing that would seem to be adequate; but in front of him were stumps and malaria, the crudest of bigotry that still survived under the most promising pretensions, and Horace Mann fell at his post.—JENKIN LLOYD JONES, 51: 44.

## HORACE MANN AT ANTIOCH

OCTOBER 2	1850	The General Christian Convention met in Marion, Wayne County, New York, to consider the establishment of a college.
MAY 14	1852	"Antioch College" was legally incorporated under the laws of Ohio.
SEPT. 15 OR 17	1852	Horace Mann elected President of Antioch College.
NOVEMBER	1852	Held the first meeting of the college faculty at his residence in West Newton, Mass.
OCTOBER 5	1853	The College was opened and dedicated. Horace Mann, inaugurated president, delivered his famous Dedicatory and Inaugural Address.
NOVEMBER	1853	Unanimously voted in as a member of the Christian Church at Yellow Springs, Ohio.
OCTOBER 5	1854	Delivered Address "Demands of the Age on Colleges," before the Christian Convention.
JUNE 27	1857	Baccalaureate Address to the first class—twelve men and three women.
APRIL 22	1859	The school was reincorporated under the name "Antioch College of Yellow Springs, Greene County, Ohio."
JUNE 29	1859	Horace Mann's last commencement and the most famous Baccalaureate Address.
AUGUST 2	1859	Died in the President's House at Antioch College.
	1860	Remains removed from Antioch campus to North Burial Ground, Providence, Rhode Island; placed beside those of his first wife.
JUNE	1884	Unveiling of the Antioch College monument on the site of his first burial place.
OCTOBER 16	1936	Unveiling of the Horace Mann Statue given to Antioch College by Hugh Taylor Birch.

## CHAPTER I

# Horace Mann's Service to the Republic

*AS THE FIRST HALF of the nineteenth century merges more deeply into the past, it becomes increasingly clear that Horace Mann was among the few leaders of his time who determined the course of America. In his own day he was overshadowed by brisk entrepreneurs who were concerned with the rapid development of business and industry, and by showy statesmen who talked loud and long to little purpose. Now, a hundred years later, it is apparent that ornate rhetoric and huge fortunes were relatively empty achievements compared with Mann's arousing of America to the possibilities of the common school.—ROBERT L. STRAKER, in Educating for Democracy, 18:3.*

LIKE Washington and Lincoln, Horace Mann knew well what most people too often forget—that the perpetuation of free institutions cannot be taken for granted; that our personal rights, political liberties, and representative institutions must be achieved anew in each generation. Along with Franklin and Jefferson he saw clearly that only through universal free public education could selfgovernment survive. Combined with this appreciation of the importance of education to democracy, he had a keen sense of the practical steps necessary for an effective system of education, and the personal force to take those steps and to carry people along with him.

Faith in the common man and a determination to give

him equality of opportunity is America's unique contribution to history. This desire has been called the American Dream. Because of our efforts at equality of opportunity our country has developed faster and farther than any other in all history. The major factor in this development has been the common school, the living embodiment of the spirit that made us a nation, the very symbol of our freedom. The school has awakened aspiration, established ideals, trained skills, and formed character. It is of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The contribution of Horace Mann in establishing the schools was so fundamental that he is known as the Father of the American Public School. Mann came upon the scene just at the period when our railroads were being built and our cities were starting their growth. In 1830 there were in the United States but 26 cities of 8000 population or more. When Mann became the first Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education in 1837, the first railroad from Springfield to Albany had not been completed. School districts were small. Poverty, disease, and child labor were widely prevalent. Schools and teachers had little standing. Women had not yet come into their own. By inspiring new faith in education among the masses of the people and by showing how the schools could be made better Horace Mann did for American education what Washington did for the Colonies and what Lincoln did for the Union. With them he deserves a place among the immortals.

The writers of history have given themselves mostly to the doings of the great ones of earth. But Horace Mann saw deeper. To him it was clear that if a nation is to have great men it must have a great and noble people to inspire and support them. Every boy and girl must be awakened to the

worth of himself, must be led to assume responsibility for his own destiny, must be trained in purpose, taste, and skill until he can stand alone, asking no special favors or privileges.

The common school—given new life by Horace Mann's leadership—created the idealism and the feeling of national destiny necessary to national union. Mann led the movement for civic education. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were introduced into the schools; patriotic pieces were declaimed on public occasions. The school became the House of the People.

When Horace Mann was born in 1796 George Washington was still President. The young Republic was trying to get started. The ideal of democracy was fighting for its very life. Critics on both sides of the ocean prophesied its early doom. The wonder is that with centuries of despotism and special privilege woven into the lives of men, our forefathers should have had the courage to try a new form of government.

Horace Mann saw clearly that the American experiment at selfrule could not hope to succeed without universal education emphasizing the highest moral, civic, and cultural values. He saw that there could be no real equality or democracy unless people had the opportunity to develop their talents and their tastes. If you want confirmation of that statement, if you want to see the real importance of the American school, ask yourself what hope there would be today for the children of any poor family if the boon of free schooling were denied them.

The next time you pass a school pause a moment to think what that school means to humanity. Recall the long dark centuries when the masses were kept in ignorance—when greed and oppression ruled the world with an iron hand. From the very beginning of man's struggle for knowledge,



HORACE MANN, 1796-1859  
*Father of the American Free Public School*

selfrespect, and the recognition of his inalienable rights, the school has been his greatest ally. We refer to the school as "common" because it belongs to us all; it is ourselves working together in the education of our children. But it is a most uncommon institution. It is relatively new. It is democracy's greatest gift to civilization. Throughout the world, among upward struggling peoples, wherever parents share in the aspirations of their children, the American common school is being copied.

William C. Bagley, noted teacher and historian, in *A Century of the Universal School* [21:35], says:

"The opening of the twentieth century found schooling of the elementary type essentially universal in Germany; in certain parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire (especially Austria and the Czech provinces); in Great Britain and the British overseas commonwealths; in the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries; in Japan; and in the Northeastern, North Central, Mountain, and Pacific sections of the United States."

Perhaps no one has understood better the significance of Horace Mann's contribution than Honorable Payson Smith, who during the years 1916-36 was Commissioner of Education in Massachusetts. In *Horace Mann and Our Schools* by Smith, Winship, and Harris [75:1-7], he writes:

"It is not possible to get an adequate idea of the significance of Mann's work unless we project it against the background of his time. He is usually spoken of as being the leader of an educational revival. Strictly speaking, there was no revival of public education in the thirties of the last century, because there was not at that time and never had been in America anything like a system of public education.

"The year in which Horace Mann took up his duties as

Secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts was almost exactly two centuries after three notable events in the history of American education—the founding of the Boston Latin School in 1635, the founding of Harvard College in 1636, and the promulgation in 1647 of a declaration in behalf of popular education.

“By the year 1837 half a century had already passed since the statement made by Washington, Jefferson, and others of the founding fathers that the education of the people is essential to the security of any government based on the principles of democracy. In spite of the fact that these men had admonished the people that schools should be established, the nation and the separate states were well into the constitutional era before practical steps were taken leading to the general establishment and promotion of public schools. In fact, a conception of education as a part of the fundamental obligation of a democracy did not become firmly established in the minds of the people until they had progressed a good half century into the constitutional era.

“In 1830 the colleges, chiefly denominational in character, were small, poor, and struggling. They lacked endowment, equipment, and suitable buildings. Their offerings were for the most part academic, designed to be useful in preparation for the ministry, and to a less extent for other professions.

“As to secondary education, after two hundred years of the example set by Boston, a scant score of towns had established highschoools. Education above the common school was generally provided by academies and seminaries which were privately conducted and were, like the colleges, generally under church control. While these private academies performed a service of great value, they only slightly reflected the ideals of free public education represented by the highschoools of the



PAYSON SMITH

*Chairman of the Horace Mann Centennial Committee, 1936-38*

present time. In short, in this country a century ago, practically all education above the common school was a private enterprise, chiefly under church patronage, and open only to those who could meet the tuition charges necessary for the partial support of the schools.

"The situation in the common schools, as they were then called, was not less depressing. Despite two centuries of preachments and pronouncements, there were in 1830 only three states that had committed themselves by constitution and law to the support of free education. In all the others there was the practice of supporting schools on a fee basis with an accompanying policy of paying, through so-called 'pauper taxes,' for the schooling of some who could not afford to pay tuition. In some of the states these pauper school rates were not finally abolished until late in the first half of the nineteenth century.

"There was little cause for congratulation, however, even in those states that had accepted the theory of free education, since the schools they provided were so inferior that they were often attended only by children whose parents could not afford to send them to private tuition schools. In the early part of the century it was reported that there were in some New England towns more pupils in the private than in the public schools.

"It was thus a sorry scene across which Horace Mann looked when he entered into the service of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. There was nothing anywhere that could be correctly described as a system of education. Only the common schools had been accepted as a public responsibility, and in their case that responsibility was but feebly discharged. School terms were brief and irregular; buildings were mean and shabby; school equipment was lacking; the

teaching office itself was in low esteem. At best, the teachers were young college students preparing for some other profession than teaching, away from their studies for a few weeks in order to earn a little money to help pay their college bills. At worst, they were elementary pupils a little older and more advanced than the others, and thus presumably able to 'keep school.' The majority of children attended school irregularly, while many more were in school for extremely limited periods of time, or not at all.

"In the entire country, as late as 1823, there was only one place where young persons could get even the elements of preparation for teaching. That place was an academy in Concord, Vermont, where in that year the Reverend Samuel R. Hall first offered courses for teachers. Illiteracy, even towards the middle of the century, was a prevailing condition in many parts of the country. In New England, towns were often served by officials who were not able to write their names.

"Even more significant than these visible deficiencies was the apparent apathy of the public. With the schools universally poor, there appeared to be little discontent about the matter, and no generally expressed desire to correct it. Perhaps no more striking commentary on educational conditions could be found than the disapproval expressed by Mann's friends of his devoting his talents to what seemed to them the mean and lowly task of secretary in the new Board of Education."

Against this background so ably sketched by Payson Smith, consider the American schools of today. The elementary school has become practically universal so that each year some 22 million children are within its fold. Most of them are housed in buildings far beyond anything known in Horace Mann's day and many of them in buildings beyond anything



HENRY BARNARD, 1811-1900

*Friend of Horace Mann; Editor of the AMERICAN JOURNAL  
OF EDUCATION; and First United States Commissioner of  
Education*

he could have dreamed. The curriculum has been enriched along the line of his ideals. In the best schools provision has been made not only for the study of physiology and hygiene but also for dietetics and homemaking, and in many schools there is generous provision for school lunches, for nurses, dentists, and doctors. Provision has been made for crippled children and underprivileged groups. Even in the more backward sections the Negro, with the memory of slavery still upon him, has been provided with schools, still much less than they should be, but a beginning nevertheless.

On the foundations laid in the elementary school, high-schools have grown up so that when we speak of the common school today we think not only of elementary education but of secondary education. Schools are holding young people longer. The growth of the educational enterprise is strikingly shown in the expansion of the highschool which in round numbers enrolled 200,000 in 1890; 500,000 in 1900; a million in 1910; 2 million in 1920; 5 million in 1930; and in 1938 more than 7 million. The school has become the nation's major enterprise, in which one in four of the total population is now engaged as teacher or student. To have more than thirty million young people working fulltime at the task of improving their lives offers immense possibilities particularly as their minds are held to ideals of sound personal character, worthy achievement, and honorable civic participation. The foundations of this great cultural enterprise were laid by Horace Mann.

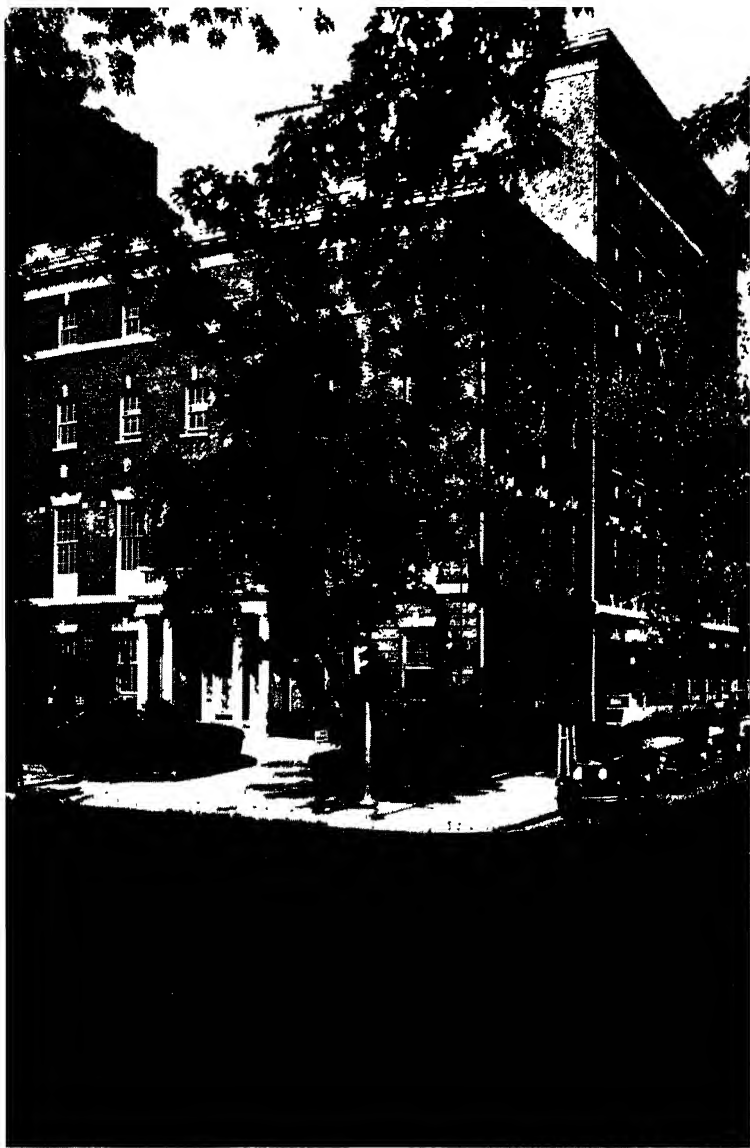
As a specialized phase of the highschool the junior high-school had a phenomenal development during the first quarter of the twentieth century, bringing to adolescent youth a richer and more flexible program than had before been available. We are now in the midst of a new development growing

up beyond the highschool in the form of the junior college so that we may look forward to a day when practically the entire population will receive not only a highschool education but will go on to a college built especially for the needs of the masses and devoted to cultivation and civic participation.

The normal school on behalf of which Horace Mann labored so valiantly and which as a result of his labors began as a tax-supported institution in 1839, has grown from its simple beginnings into a full-fledged college. It is a far cry from that first little normal school at Lexington, later at Framingham, Massachusetts, with the 3 students who came on the first day and only 25 for the first year, to the some 60 thousand young men and women who today graduate each year from these schools with a bachelor's degree.

Along with the onward sweep of educational growth there has been a multiplication of colleges and universities, both public and private. There has come especially during recent years a growing interest in adult education as a tax-supported institution, so that we may look forward to a time when boards of education will take their responsibility for the education of adults no less seriously than they now take their responsibility for the education of children.

Horace Mann had a great interest in organizations on behalf of education, both lay and professional. Were he to come among us today he would find the scattered citizens' groups which he organized to foster education, expanded into the National Congress of Parents and Teachers with a membership of more than 2 million. He would find the National Teachers' Association which was getting underway at the time of his tragic death, grown into the all-inclusive National Education Association composed of all the state and territorial associations and of several hundred local associa-



*The movement to elevate teaching, which Horace Mann fostered, now finds expression in the National Education Association, whose Washington, D. C. headquarters is shown here. It is the largest professional organization in the world.*

tions. He could well admire its farflung program of service to the teachers, the children, and the nation. Horace Mann is really the grandfather of the National Education Association and had much to do in laying the foundation for its first meeting. While a member of Congress in 1849 he presided over a great Convention held in Philadelphia of Teachers and Superintendents of Public Schools. A second convention met in Philadelphia in 1850 and organized the American Association for the Advancement of Education. This organization continued to meet for several years and proved to the school people of America the need for a national organization and the possibility of teacher cooperation so that in 1857 it was possible to organize in Philadelphia—home of the nation's birth—the National Teachers' Association, as our Association was at first called. The fiftieth anniversary volume, published by the Association in 1906, contains the address which Horace Mann made before the convention of 1849. In that address he pointed out with inspiring eloquence the task ahead of the teachers and school executives. He called attention to the great domain to the West, largely undeveloped, and to the incoming stream of 10,000 immigrants daily, emphasizing the fact that if our nation was to be welded into one mighty unity of purpose and plan these diverse elements must be guided through the free public school. [12:467-69]

Were Horace Mann to come among us today he would find a new movement growing out of the Horace Mann Centennial celebration—a movement composed of young people in the highschools and colleges of America under the name "Future Teachers of America," laying new foundations rich in promise.

He would find the movement for federal aid for the encouragement of general education well on its way toward

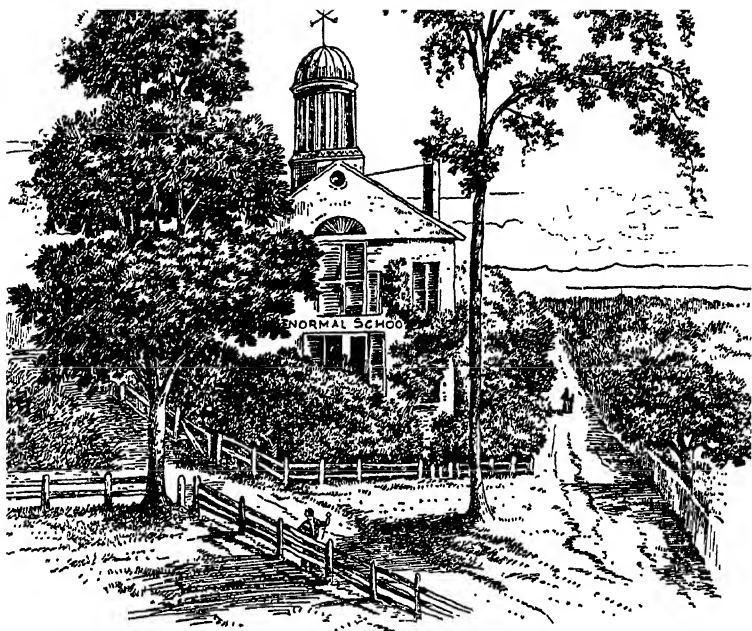
realization, bringing to the entire nation the stimulus of increased support and leadership. Surely he would rejoice that at last the nation as it enters upon a new period of its growth, should recognize its educational duty to all its citizens who serve it in time of peace and lay down their lives for it in time of war.

Surely a man who gave impetus to such an educational growth as this deserves to rank with Washington and Lincoln as one of the first men of the Republic.

Many of the brightest minds, the noblest hearts, and the most inspired spirits of America through more than four generations have led the people in the movement to extend and perfect education, but beyond any other Horace Mann set forth a philosophy of education in keeping with our emerging and evolving philosophy of political and social democracy. His selfsacrificing labors, lectures, and writings established this philosophy in the minds of the people and awakened their faith in themselves and in their power through education to make democracy work. Says John Greenleaf Whittier, noted American author, in a letter (May 27, 1884) to D. A. Long, then president of Antioch College, in connection with the monument erected that year on the campus:

"I am glad that Antioch is to honor her first President. No one better deserves a monument than Horace Mann. No one has done so much to promote the cause of education and consequently to save our beloved country from the greatest danger which threatens it, *ignorance at the ballot box*. Only by following where he led the way, and heeding his words of eloquent warning, can that danger which he feared so much be averted." [56:206]

There are those among us today who, swept off their feet by the loud clamor of dictators in Europe, proclaim the



*The first public normal school in America at Lexington, Massachusetts*

failure of democracy. Let no one tell you that democracy has failed. It is precisely at those points where the American system is least democratic—where it least reflects the ideals and homely virtues of the common people—that the breakdowns have come. Our schools are the greatest contribution of democracy to civilization. They are intelligent, honest, efficient to a degree that is true of no other business of like magnitude. Were all other business as well managed as democracy's schools, America would move forward to a new level of achievement and glory. The schools are the bulwark of liberty and selfgovernment. The future of democracy and the future of the common school are one and inseparable. Let them go forward and upward together. What the school is today democracy will be tomorrow.

The contribution of Horace Mann to higher education and to the welfare of Antioch College has always been underappreciated—overshadowed by his magnificent leadership of the common school. But his contribution to higher education is of the utmost importance. It includes not only his contribution through Antioch College, which is set forth in another chapter, but the contribution which he made through the founding of normal schools which since his day have grown into higher institutions without losing the folk character which he gave them. The significance of the free public tax-supported normal school which Horace Mann fathered, established, and defended until it reached such strength that no one dared destroy it, is pointed out by William C. Bagley in *A Century of the Universal School* [21:33]:

“George Combe, in reporting Horace Mann’s success in saving the normal schools, said that if the bill abolishing the state board of education and the normal schools had passed, the cause of democracy ‘would have received its worst setback since the atrocities of the French Revolution.’ Henry Barnard, at about the same time, stated publicly that the failure of Massachusetts at this juncture would have delayed the development of American education a half-century, if not longer.”

In the first phase of its expansion the normal school could hardly be called an institution of higher education. It was a “folk” school built out of the same stuff and with the same ideals as the common school, to meet the crying need for prepared teachers. It pushed westward with the public-school movement from Massachusetts across New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, and on to the coast, carrying the ideals of character and citizenship to which Horace Mann devoted his life.

Today the American Association of Teachers Colleges includes in its membership 157 accredited institutions. They are still "folk" schools in their devotion to the interests of the common people but they have grown into institutions of higher learning. This has been made possible by the better foundations that have been laid in elementary and high-schools, by the growing wealth of the country, and by the need for prepared teachers not only on the elementary-school level but on the highschool level. By and large, the teachers colleges are today the best colleges in America, particularly in their emphasis on character and citizenship. They are rapidly improving in scholarly attainments and in the preparation of their faculties. It may well be that the centennial of teacher preparation which will be observed in 1939 will mark the beginning of a new forward movement in the preparation of teachers, no less significant in its promise for the future than the beginnings of 1839.

Horace Mann conceived the normal school, as he conceived the college, as an institution for the service of the people and for the improvement of government. He wrote: "The relation which colleges bear to the community is but little less than that which the brain bears to the rest of the body. It is not enough to say that 'knowledge is power.' In our times, *knowledge is government.*" [14:109]

This in brief is the story of the structure that has grown upon the foundation which Horace Mann laid. It is a story that should be known and appreciated by every school child and every citizen. It is a part of the heritage of democracy. It is the new foundation upon which the democracy of tomorrow must grow. If we keep the faith that Horace Mann held and continue the mighty struggle which he began, we shall move forward into a new epoch of surpassing richness

and nobility. The Horace Mann Centennial was observed in many highschools during 1937 in connection with their commencement exercises. We like to think of the following poem written by a member of the senior class for the 1937 commencement exercises of the Plymouth, Massachusetts, High-school, as a tribute of gratitude from the oncoming generation to Horace Mann for his service to them.

### To a Gentle Warrior

#### *A Centennial Ode to Horace Mann*

By MARY BODELL

Awake, my lute, and sing my paeon of praise!

I come, a hero to extoll, to raise!

A wartime hero I do not acclaim,

With pomp and martial song—

In rolling accents strong—

But him whose claymore was a lofty aim!

From out the misty void of decades past

His name and deeds glow softly in the gloom;

Their warm, rich light streams slow across the vast

Deep sea of time; illustrious they loom.

There was a time, a restless, change-rocked time,

A time of strife when Learning stood forlorn,

Seeking a knight to raise her up sublime.

Into that time, her champion was born.

No iron-hearted conqueror was he—

To fight mid smoke and clanging clash of steel,

Avid for power, ruler of earth to be!

His was a greater goal, a nobler zeal.

He battered at the mighty oaken gates  
Of minds fast-closed—besieged with force the wall  
Of ignorance and prejudice and hate,  
Besieged it—till at last he saw it fall.

With children of his own to love, to aid,  
His heart reached out to father other men's:  
For them, a splendid heritage he made.  
He waged a war for knowledge, truth—and then

For millions still to come, he paved the road.  
He glorified the common school and showed  
Wherein a nation's power and greatness lay—  
Her wealth of youth, its growth from day to day.

His visionary soul saw far ahead  
Clear vistas of the dream that might come true;  
Yet visions did not dim his eyes—instead  
He clearly saw the present labors, too.

Then set him up with conquerors and kings!  
He'll glow above their glitter and their show!  
Their deeds live now in books, in temporal things;  
His deeds live in men's sons; they thrive and grow.

So let us honor him today. As pilgrims  
We come to praise the masterpiece he wrought,  
A glorious one, since "we who did not know him  
Are moving to the measure of his thought."

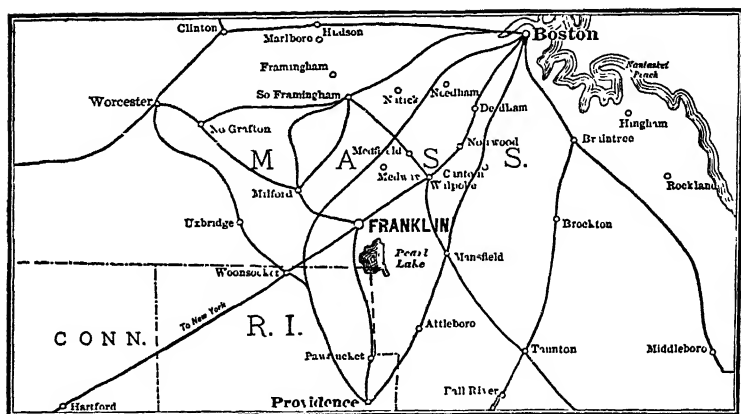
## CHAPTER II

### Fifty-Seven Years of Preparation

UNQUESTIONABLY *the most conspicuous figure in the history of American education is Horace Mann. His prominence is due no less to his resplendent talents and commanding genius than to the times and seasons which brought them into requisition. He may be said to have been the right man in the right place at the right time. It has been often observed that great occasions are demanded in order to draw into the public service and notice our truly great men. Thus the crisis of our country's fate developed a Lincoln; the Revolution gave us a Washington.*—WILLIAM F. PHELPS in Chautauqua Textbook Number Fourteen, 72: 7.

**H**ORACE MANN was fifty-six years of age in September 1852, when he was elected president of Antioch College, then in process of being organized. He was fifty-seven when on October 5, 1853, he delivered the great address which marked the formal opening of the college. He had had more than half a century of preparation for the great task then before him—a preparation in purpose, skill, and selfdiscipline such as comes to few men in a millennium.

Teaching, like statesmanship, differs from most occupations in that all that one has and is goes into the process. And so we must look for Horace Mann's power as a teacher in the nobility of his parents; in the circumstances of his birth; in the vicissitudes of his childhood; in the aspirations of his unfolding manhood; in his experience among the people as a lawyer; in his training as legislator and statesman;



*Courtesy, Franklin Business Association*

MAP OF FRANKLIN, MASSACHUSETTS

in the circumstances of national existence which he observed during the periods following the Revolution and preceding the Civil War; in the grim tragedy that again and again struck into the sensitive fiber of his life; in the love and affection of family and friends that again and again lifted him to renewed effort; in the abiding Christian faith that sustained him during the darkest hours of his life.

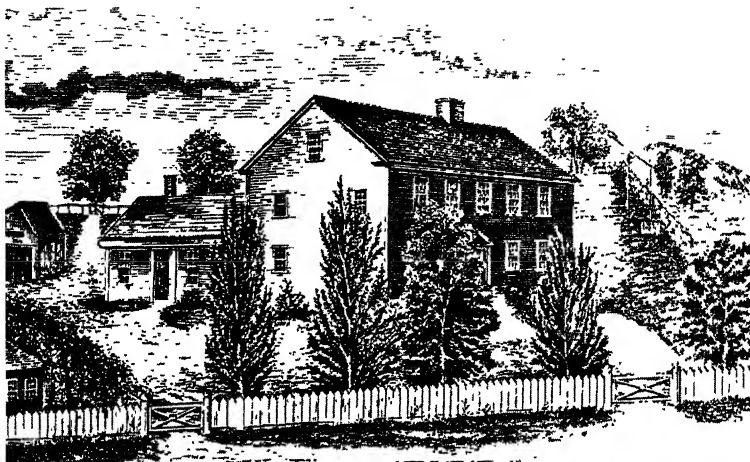
Horace Mann's parents, born of New England Puritan stock which had come over from Kent, England, at the middle of the seventeenth century, gave him a most careful training in the fundamentals of Christian living. They helped him to establish his self-respect and his purpose to be useful and to do good. Purpose is the most important point about one's life for it is the only important point over which he has complete control. Heredity is important and places limits upon our vitality and talents—limits which we rarely take the trouble to reach—but purpose is of our own making; we can aim high and hold firm or we can drift much as lower

animals do. Horace Mann had purpose. It was a vital part of his early training.

At the time of Horace Mann's birth on May 4, 1796, the parents—Thomas and Mary Stanley Mann with two sons and a daughter—lived on a farm near Franklin, Massachusetts. Horace Mann often spoke or wrote of their influence on his life, saying "All my boyish castles in the air had reference to doing something for the benefit of mankind. The early precepts of benevolence, inculcated upon me by my parents flowed out in this direction; and I had a conviction that knowledge was my needed instrument. . . . If my parents had not the means to give me knowledge they intensified the love of it. They always spoke of learning and learned men with enthusiasm and a kind of reverence."

Another influence in Mann's life was the small library in his home town of Franklin. In pioneer days the citizens of this town decided to name it for Benjamin Franklin who had become one of the nation's leading citizens. In acknowledgment Franklin considered giving them a bell, but afterwards saying that *sense* was preferable to *sound*, he changed the gift to a library—now famous as the first public library in America. Although the hundred-odd books were mostly histories and theologies more suited to the town fathers than to children, Mann read them eagerly. Later as state secretary he was able to secure school libraries with books better suited to the children's needs. "Had I the power," he said, "I would scatter libraries over the whole land as the sower sows his wheatfield."

Opportunities for formal schooling were meager in Horace Mann's boyhood. "Until the age of fifteen," he says, "I had never been to school more than eight or ten weeks in a year." What a contrast to the opportunities of today when most young people receive more schooling in one year than the

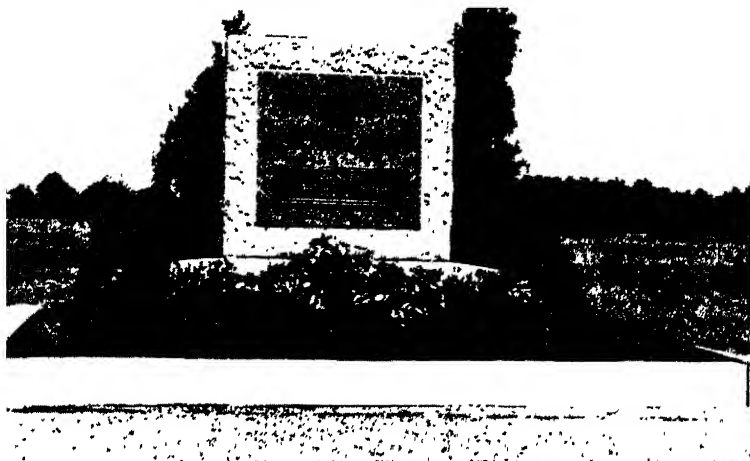


*From Blake's History of the Town of Franklin, Massachusetts*

#### BIRTHPLACE OF HORACE MANN

citizen of 1820 received in his entire lifetime! The schools of Horace Mann's boyhood had no comfortable seats, no blackboards, no maps or pictures. Teachers were poorly prepared. Discipline was severe and "lickin' and larnin'" were the twin stars of knowledge. In 1844 the Boston Survey Committee found the floggings in a representative school to average 65 per day for 400 children.

The hard circumstances of Horace Mann's boyhood—especially after the death of his father on June 20, 1809, when Horace was only thirteen—gave the growing youth a discipline of hard and sustained labor which established for life the habit of effort and perhaps another habit not so fortunate to possess, the habit of pushing on regardless of health or bodily condition. In addition to farm chores, he helped his mother braid straw for nearby hat factories. The loss of an older brother, Stephen, a year later on July 22 and the circumstances associated with his funeral, struck hard at Horace's religious faith, but to that we shall return later.



*Courtesy, Massachusetts Teachers' Fedn*

#### MONUMENT ON SITE OF MANN'S BIRTHPLACE

The ambition to learn and to grow—early awakened in young Horace—became the dominant motive of his young manhood and led to remarkable feats of intellectual achievement. Although his early schooling had been meager, he had learned to apply his mind diligently to all he undertook.

When Horace was eighteen years old a classical teacher visited his town and encouraged him to go on with his studies. He prepared himself in six months from the time he began to study Latin grammar and entered Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, from which he graduated in 1819 with first honors. His graduation oration, prophetic of his future thought, bore the title "The Gradual Advancement of the Human Species in Dignity and Happiness." Mann tutored for a brief period at Brown University, and then studied law at the school of Judge James Gould, Litchfield, Connecticut, famous as the first law school in America, notable alike for its high ideals of law practice as a form of public service and for the number of its graduates who came to occupy places of

importance in state and national governments. A fellow student thus describes his first impression of Mann: "Mr. Mann's massive brow and high arching head did not then tell me what a great intellect was indicated; but the mild bright eye, and the pleasant expression of the eloquent mouth, told of geniality and mirthfulness. It was therefore easy to believe what was told me by the students, that he was the best fellow and the best wit in the office; but not before I formed his acquaintance was it so credible to me (what I was also told) that he was the best whist-player, the best scholar, and the best lawyer of the school."

The practice of law gave Horace Mann an interest in conditions among the people and in the problems of their lives. It gave him an opportunity to see the relation of cause and effect in human destiny. It taught him the art of argument and developed the judicial habit of mind. It aroused his interest in affairs and laid the foundations for statesmanship. Throughout his career he held to the high ideals of legal practice he had learned at Judge Gould's school. On July 23, 1852, he wrote a letter to a law student on being a lawyer [66: 128]:

"Perpetually ask 'What is equitable? What is just? What is right?' . . . Never espouse the wrong side of a cause knowingly. . . . It is utterly amazing to me how a man can trifle with his own mind. . . . I well know . . . what the old lawyers say about its being right to defend a known wrong side. I deny it all and despise it. If a bad man wants such work done, he shall not have my soul to do it with. I should not like to catch the smallpox, but that would be a tolerable disease, rather than to let a scoundrel inoculate me with his villainy. Because he has committed violation Number One, shall I commit violation Number Two, to secure impunity to him by means of what is called a *Court of Justice*? which

impunity, of course, is violation Number Three, brought about by the wrongful use of *his* money and the prostitution of *my* faculties."

It was during this period that Horace Mann deepened his strong convictions as to the harmfulness of the liquor, tobacco, and gambling habits. He saw firsthand their harmful influence on individual and home life. There is a disposition in some quarters to think of Horace Mann as being overconcerned about such matters—to take the view that his teachings with reference to tobacco and liquor have no present value. The exact opposite is true. I must add my testimony to his. Through many years in public life I have worked with fine and able men and women among whom many of the men and some of the women have been users of tobacco. I have seen them at intellectual tasks that required quick and full use of all the faculties. It is my sincere conviction that any one of these users of tobacco—however fine—could have been finer and stronger without it. The same applies to liquor. Then, too, I have had the personal testimony of scores of older men who have expressed regret that they acquired the tobacco habit or the drinking habit and remorse that they were unable to free themselves from such slavery. It is hard to be impartial when the pendulum pushed by shrewd advertising has swung so far to the side of indulgence, but I am forced to believe from long study and observation that Horace Mann was right on these matters, although the presentation of them made in his day may seem in our modern setting to be harsh or overdrawn. In this age of keen competition one needs his last margin of strength and it is often just this margin that makes the difference between a failure and a success. People in charge of education have a duty to inform the young on these matters.

In these days when liberty is so often confused with license, it is a common practice to cite some old quotation or a series of them from various generations noting that "people are going to the dogs" and to conclude that because we are still here these estimates must have been in error along with present predictions that all is not well. Such reasoning fails to take note of the observable fact that a part of the race—now smaller, now larger—is always "going to the dogs" while another part is holding its own or rising to new levels of aspiration and achievement. In our day due to the pervasive influence of forces let loose by radio, movies, and autos, there is danger that the saving remnant necessary to maintain order, civilization, and racial vigor may be destroyed.

Love is the greatest of all teachers and often shows us the stars. It was so in the life of Horace Mann. While a student at Brown University and later as a member of the faculty, he had been much in the home of President Messer and had come to know and love the beautiful daughter, Charlotte. In 1830, after he had established himself as a lawyer, they were married. Then followed two happy years of "a love that was more than love." Charlotte had always been frail and had been ill for some time, but her passing came as a crushing blow to the sensitive nature of Horace Mann and taught him the meaning of misery and despair. Long afterward he paid this tribute to Charlotte Messer Mann:

"During that period when, for me, there was a light upon earth brighter than any light of the sun, and a voice sweeter than any of Nature's harmonies, I did not think but that the happiness which was boundless in present enjoyment would be perpetual in duration. . . . My life went out of myself. One after another, the feelings which had before been fastened upon other objects loosened their strong grasp, and went

to dwell and rejoice in the sanctuary of her holy and beautiful nature."

Horace Mann had been five years a member of the legislature as a representative from Dedham when this tragedy came upon him. In 1833 he moved to Boston and became a representative from there. In 1835 he was elected to the Massachusetts Senate and a year later became its president, a leadership which he was to hold until he became Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education.

The Massachusetts Legislature in the early days of the United States attracted men of exceptional ability and character. It rivaled Virginia in the quality of its statesmen. Long legislative experience gave Horace Mann a firsthand knowledge of public affairs and established friendships that enriched his entire life. He could be counted upon to support every worthy cause. At a time when the unfortunate were most brutally neglected and mistreated he secured a law establishing the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, the first institution of its kind in the United States. He also sponsored legislation against alcoholic beverages and lottery tickets.

The more Horace Mann saw of law and government as methods of progress, the more he became convinced that education was more important than either. He saw the possibility of removing through education some of the handicaps of character which brought people into the courts. He had deep faith in the power of the human race to improve itself through education. So it is not strange that, although he had never thought of himself as a possible holder of the office when he helped to pass the law creating the Massachusetts Board of Education with a fulltime secretary, he yielded to the persuasion of influential friends who believed that the situation demanded the peculiar ideals and talents which he

possessed along with the prestige as a statesman which his services in the legislature had won. On June 28, 1837, the Board invited Horace Mann to become its Secretary. In his private journal Mann wrote: "The path of usefulness is opened before me. . . . God grant me an annihilation of selfishness, a mind of wisdom, a heart of benevolence!"

On June 30 he communicated his acceptance declaring in his journal that "Henceforth, so long as I hold this office, I devote myself to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth. I have faith in the improbability of the race—in their accelerating improbability." On July 1 he wrote, "This day I consider the first on which my official character as Secretary commences." The next day in a letter to a friend he said: "I no longer write myself attorney, counselor, or lawyer. My lawbooks are for sale. My office is 'to let.' The bar is no longer my forum. My jurisdiction is changed. I have abandoned jurisprudence and betaken myself to the larger sphere of mind and morals."

Few persons in Massachusetts saw as did Mann the opportunities of the new post. Indeed few of his friends approved his exchange of a lucrative law practice and a position of honor in the Senate to be a "postrider from county to county looking after the welfare of children who will never know whence benefits may come and encountering the jealousy and prejudice and misrepresentation of ignorant parents."

But Mann answered: "If the title is not sufficiently honorable now, then it is clearly left for me to elevate it. I had rather be creditor than debtor to the title." When he learned that the cautious legislature had fixed his salary at \$1500 to include office and traveling expenses, he wrote: "Well, one thing is certain: if I live and have health, I will be revenged on them; I will do them more than \$1500 worth of good."

Thus began the great career which was to place Horace Mann as the foremost educator in the western hemisphere and to win the fame that led the trustees who later were to found Antioch College, to seek his great leadership.

The problem which Mann faced in Massachusetts was fairly typical: how to unify the scattered district or township schools into a single state system of education with the proper balance between state and local control. Horace Mann thus describes the evils of the district system under which the schools of Massachusetts had declined: "These schools at the present time are so many independent communities, each being governed by its own habits, traditions, and local customs. There is no common superintending power over them; there is no bond of brotherhood or family between them. They are strangers and aliens to each other."

Except for laws relating to such general matters as the length of term and the distribution of funds, the state governments had taken little interest in the public schools before the days of Horace Mann. Those who had been opposed to tax-supported schools in the first place naturally continued to oppose any steps looking toward increasing their effectiveness. The towns resented state interference in their local affairs. They remembered the attempted despotisms of George the Third and they pointed to the spectacle of the Prussian and French monarchies of the time. In certain states such as New York where efforts had been made to have an officer in the state government responsible for the promotion of education, the forces of reaction had set in and the office had been abolished after a few years.

With the establishment of the Massachusetts Board of Education and the election of Horace Mann to its secretaryship, a new epoch began. Here was a leadership not to be broken

or thwarted, a leadership that was much more than a name or a mere routine. Here was clear recognition of the state's responsibility for education as a state. Here was a man determined, using the democratic processes of enlightenment and persuasion, to bring to the people the elements of education which would enable them to lead good lives and to maintain the personal rights, the political liberties, and the representative institutions for which the Revolution had been fought.

The Massachusetts Board of Education was carefully set up to preserve the traditions of local selfgovernment. It had no powers to command, only to persuade. Its duties set down in the law were "to collect information of the actual condition and efficiency of the common schools and other means of popular education, and to diffuse as widely as possible, throughout every part of the Commonwealth, information of the most approved and successful methods of arranging the studies, and conducting the education of the young. . . ."

But Mann saw much beyond the words of the law. To him the Board of Education was "like a spring, almost imperceptible, flowing from the highest tableland, between oceans, which is destined to deepen and widen as it descends, diffusing fertility and beauty in its course; and nations shall dwell upon its banks. It is the first great movement towards an organized system of common education, which shall at once be thorough and universal. Every civilized state is as imperfectly organized, without a minister or secretary of instruction, as it would be without ministers or secretaries of State, Finance, War, or the Navy."

For twelve years (1837-1848) as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, Mann took the case for free schools to a people who were indifferent or hostile to the need for them. Although opposed by "sordid politicians, unprogressive

schoolmen, and sectarian preachers," and hampered by one of the most severe financial depressions ever known in the country, Mann guided the state to a great educational revival. He sensed that periods of crisis are often times of great mental and spiritual awakening. So successfully did he win the case for free schools that this period is now recalled as the foundation period of the public-school movement in America.

Step by step he worked out his plan. He withdrew from all other professional or business interests to devote himself entirely to the great cause which he had chosen to champion. He studied educational conditions, collected statistics, held conferences, gave public addresses to lay and educational groups. His influence aided in the founding of the first public normal school in America at Lexington in 1839. He edited the *Common School Journal* and wrote annual reports which stated educational needs with such force that they were read throughout the civilized world and are still full of inspiration for educational workers.

Horace Mann attached importance to the preparation of young people to be teachers. When he began his work as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, anyone approved by the local school committee could teach and this approval was often given carelessly. He drew up a plan for a normal school—as the first schools for teachers were called. A generous friend offered \$10,000 to start the school, the Legislature appropriated another \$10,000, and on July 3, 1839, the first public normal school in America was opened at Lexington, Massachusetts, with three students. By the end of the year 25 had enrolled. From this simple beginning schools for the preparation of teachers have grown into fine four-year colleges. Their students are numbered by hundreds of thousands and teaching has become the greatest of the professions.



*Portrait first published in THE JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION for February 1937 through the courtesy of Horace Mann of Richmond, Massachusetts, grandson of the educator. Mr. Mann writes: "Of course I never saw my grandfather. This photograph of him is an enlargement of a daguerreotype, I believe. I know that my father, George Combe Mann, and my uncle, Benjamin Mann, chose it after wide search and much thought, as the best likeness of their father which they could find."*

It is not necessary here to summarize his twelve great annual reports, or to dwell longer on Horace Mann's service as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. That has been done elsewhere and it is hoped that eventually a new edition of the reports may be published to make them more widely available. Suffice it here to say that during the years 1837-48 Horace Mann had so fully established the free common schools in the hearts of the people that education was moving forward at rapid pace. He had proved the importance of prepared teachers by establishing the normal schools and fighting off the enemies who would have abolished them until their value could become known.

Horace Mann now felt free to turn his leadership to an issue that had become so pressing that it was politically the major issue in the national life threatening the very existence of the Union—the issue of human slavery. In 1848 with the sudden death in Congress of John Quincy Adams, who had been an earnest champion of the antislavery cause, Horace Mann was persuaded to resign from the Secretaryship to represent Massachusetts in Congress, which he did saying that “before a man can be educated he must be a free man.” In Congress and in Washington, Horace Mann threw all the force of his brilliant eloquence on the side of liberty and had the shock of a lifetime when on March 7, 1850, Daniel Webster delivered the compromise speech which Massachusetts regarded as a bid for support from the friends of slavery.

Mann's attitude regarding the slave question is embodied in his answer to a question put to him in the midst of a speech: “Would you advance the slaves to an equal social and political condition with the white race?” Mann's impromptu answer was: “I would give to *every human being* the best opportunities I could to develop and cultivate the faculties

which God has bestowed upon him, and which therefore he holds under a divine charter. . . . Having done this, I would leave him, as I would leave every other man, to find his level—to occupy the position to which he should be entitled by his intelligence and virtue.”

During the last year of his stay in Congress, Mann assisted Dorothea Dix, the great pioneer in humane treatment of the mentally diseased, who was working for passage of a bill to establish hospitals for the insane.

Horace Mann found Congressional life in Washington wearying and disappointing. The slave power was firmly in the saddle. In the South it was in complete control dominating the press, colleges, and churches. Its strength was so great in the North as to force one compromise after another; so great that aspirants for the Presidency felt obliged to cultivate its support. The futility of the struggle going on must have taught Mann the necessity for turning to education, for taking the long look, which in times of sustained crisis holds the greatest hope.

Horace Mann concluded not to return to Congress. He was nominated for the governorship of Massachusetts on the Free-Soil ticket, on September 15, 1852, and at approximately the same time was chosen president of the newly-established Antioch College. To the surprise of his friends and perhaps of the College trustees, he accepted the latter office. And thus began the last phase of his eventful life which we shall cover in another chapter.

Let us turn now to two factors which were a profound part of Horace Mann's preparation for the great work at Antioch. We refer to the influence of his second wife whose biography deserves to be written as a work in itself, and to the moving power of deep religious feeling and conviction.

The more I study the life of Horace Mann, the more I come to believe that much of the credit for his farreaching achievement belongs to Mary Mann. The cumulative sorrow of tragic years had become almost too much for his sensitive spirit to bear when there came upon the scene, first as a sympathetic friend and later as a loving and devoted wife, Mary Tyler Peabody. The marriage took place on May 1, 1843, but there had been years of wonderful friendship before that. Her faith, her encouragement, her intelligent and active help supported Horace Mann through many a trying ordeal. To her literary genius we largely owe our present knowledge of Horace Mann and his writings. She became his literary executor and biographer and preserved the materials which in the sordid aftermath of the Civil War might easily have been lost. Three sons were born to them: Horace, born February 25, 1844; George Combe, December 27, 1845; and Benjamin Pickman, April 30, 1848.

After Horace Mann's death, Mrs. Mann returned to her native New England to live and labor for many years. On her eightieth birthday in response to a gift from old friends and students, she wrote [139: 1]:

" . . . When I hear of a young man or woman who graduated at Antioch I always expect more of them than of any other young people because I know what they were fed upon. I shall always be proud of these beautiful books with their affectionate dedication ('To Mrs. Horace Mann with the love of Antioch College past and present') and I wish I had money to promote the interests of the college. It is the first use I should make of it if any should ever come to me. . . . I little thought I should live to be eighty! But it will be grateful to the feelings of those who loved him to know that his sons do credit to their father and that therefore I have been happy

through these long years of pain in which I have lingered."

Mrs. Mann died February 11, 1887, at the age of eighty. There is an opportunity for some student of biography to gather up the story of her life and to give to humanity the account of a truly great woman—a woman fully worthy all that is implied in the beloved name of "Mary."

Religious forces played a dominant part in the life of Horace Mann. Motives so singular and enduring as his can be accounted for only by powerful causes. Horace Mann in his childhood came under the vigorous teaching of the famous Dr. Emmons who for fifty years ruled the flock of the Calvinistic church at Franklin to which the Mann family belonged. To these religious teachings must be assigned the major role in determining Horace Mann's character. There were two distinct and very marked effects of this teaching. It inculcated in him the sense of duty and destiny which one associates with the old Hebrew prophets. It emphasized with immense power the supreme importance of right and of obedience to God's laws as the foundation of individual, social, and racial excellence. This emphasis is the dominant note of all Horace Mann's teaching.

The second effect of the early religious teaching to which Horace Mann was subjected is more complicated. He was early brought face to face with life's deepest tragedy in the death of his father and shortly after of a beloved brother. Funerals were then used to emphasize the old Hebrew concepts of the power and wrath of God upon the unrighteous and the unconverted. They were often little tempered by words of sympathy, kindness, and hope. The young Horace was moved deeply by the funeral of his father but was able to adjust himself. But the funeral of his brother Stephen was such a crushing blow to his religious faith that he had hardly

recovered before the most crushing blow of all came in the tragic loss of his first wife, Charlotte Messer Mann.

The brother who had been claimed by death had not formally united with the church and Dr. Emmons used the occasion to preach the horrors of the unredeemed. He dwelt upon the point with such awful force that Horace heard his widowed mother groan and his active imagination dwelt upon the terrible plight of one he loved and knew to be good, confined to the eternal torment of purgatory. His reason could not reconcile this picture of a God of unending wrath with the concept, "God is love." And so began that searching of soul, that careful weighing of experience that led Horace Mann to become skeptical of human creeds. His earnest restless mind dwelt much on the meaning of life and eternity. Through tragedy, doubt, and struggle he laid the foundation for the active and triumphant faith which inspired and sustained him in his magnificent labors for mankind.

From the deep shadows of the vale of sorrows his spirit rose to the mountain peaks of inspired insight where he saw the futility of petty dogma and creed. It is not easy in this day, when few take seriously the minor details of man-made creeds, to understand how much importance was attached to these details in Horace Mann's day. Then families were torn asunder, communities divided and set in conflict, careers blighted by differences over such doctrines as total depravity, election, reprobation, baptism, and the Trinity. These questions of dogma were to intrude themselves at Antioch to hamper Mann's spiritual and educational services.

There is an old saying that what has not been questioned is only half believed, which is proved in Horace Mann's case for the more he questioned the dogmas the deeper became his faith in the great realities of religion, creation, and destiny.

Horace Mann's religious faith rose to great heights during the years at Antioch and found expression in the Sermons which he there delivered to his beloved students.

This story of Horace Mann's struggles with religion is made the main theme of the Horace Mann play—*Testament of Faith*—which was prepared by the faculty of Antioch College for presentation during the Horace Mann Centennial which began in the fall of 1936. The note by the authors which forms the introduction to that play is significant:

"At first we planned, glibly, to write a pageant about Horace Mann. The program committee wanted some sort of dramatic production for the Horace Mann Centennial Conference, and a pageant can cover a multitude of dramatic shortcomings. We knew little, at the time, about our subject, but we knew that even an educator could be made presentable on a stage if, quaintly costumed, he spoke an odd and ingratiating idiom with hordes of noble folk making color masses to set him off.

"The nonsense soon ended. Immediately we began the study of his life, the man was twisting within the mould of our intentions; before he was done he'd shattered it. He stood among the fragments, a scarred and passionate veteran of pitched battles against spiritual night-time and dared us find the costume or the idiom or the color mass that could help or hinder him.

"So we forgot the pageant and wrote a play. When we produced it our instructions to the costumer were to subdue everything as much as possible; we affected no idioms; we played against neutral walls. Even the furniture we covered with gray cloth. We needed nothing but the bleak and lonely effort of this man, with pain in his heart, inching the whole of American education toward the warmth and joy which

had once been his, and had faded too quickly in an untaught world." [44:5]

But let Horace Mann tell the story of his early struggle with creeds in a letter to a friend, which Mary Mann has preserved for us in her famous biography. After referring to various circumstances that tended to make his youth unhappy he continues:

"More than by toil, or by the privation of any natural taste, was the inward joy of my youth blighted by theological inculcations. The pastor of the church in Franklin was the somewhat celebrated Dr. Emmons, who not only preached to his people, but ruled them, for more than fifty years. He was an extra or hyper-Calvinist—a man of pure intellect, whose logic was never softened in its severity by the infusion of any kindness of sentiment. He expounded all the doctrines of total depravity, election, and reprobation, and not only the eternity, but the extremity, of hell-torments, unflinchingly and in their most terrible significance; while he rarely if ever descanted upon the joys of heaven, and never, to my recollection, upon the essential and necessary happiness of a virtuous life. Going to church on Sunday was a sort of religious ordinance in our family; and, during all my boyhood, I hardly ever remember staying at home. Hence, at ten years of age, I became familiar with the whole creed, and knew all the arts of theological fence by which objections to it were wont to be parried. It might be that I accepted the doctrines too literally, or did not temper them with the proper qualifications; but, in the way in which they came to my youthful mind, a certain number of souls were to be forever lost, and nothing—not powers, nor principalities, nor man, nor angel, nor Christ, nor the Holy Spirit, nay, not God himself—could save them; for He had sworn, before time was, to get eternal glory out of their

eternal torment. But perhaps I might not be one of the lost! But my little sister might be, my mother might be, or others whom I loved; and I felt, that if they were in hell, it would make a hell of whatever other part of the universe I might inhabit; for I could never get a glimpse of consolation from the idea that my own nature could be so transformed, and become so like what God's was said to be, that I could rejoice in their sufferings.

"Like all children, I believed what I was taught. To my vivid imagination, a physical hell was a living reality, as much so as though I could have heard the shrieks of the tormented, or stretched out my hand to grasp their burning souls, in a vain endeavor for their rescue. Such a faith spread a pall of blackness over the whole heavens, shutting out every beautiful and glorious thing; while beyond that curtain of darkness I could see the bottomless and seething lake filled with torments, and hear the wailing and agony of its victims. I am sure I felt all this a thousand times more than my teachers did; and is not this a warning to teachers?

"What we phrenologists [phrenology was the psychology of that day] call causality—the faculty of mind by which we see effects in causes, and causes in effects, and invest the future with a present reality—this faculty was always intensely active in my mind. Hence the doom of the judgment day was antedated: the torments which, as the doctrine taught me, were to begin with death, began immediately; and each moment became a burning focus, on which were concentrated, as far as the finiteness of my nature would allow, the agonies of the coming eternity.

"Had there been any possibility of escape, could penance, fasting, selfinflicted wounds, or the pains of a thousand martyr-deaths, have averted the fate, my agony of apprehen-

sion would have been alleviated; but there, beyond effort, beyond virtue, beyond hope, was this irreversible decree of Jehovah, immutable, from everlasting to everlasting. The judgment had been made up and entered upon the eternal record millions of years before we, who were judged by it, had been born; and there sat the Omnipotent upon His throne, with eyes and heart of stone to guard it; and had all the beings in all the universe gathered themselves together before Him to implore but the erasure of only a single name from the list of the doomed, their prayers would have been in vain.

"I shall not now enter into any theological disquisition on these matters, infinitely momentous as they are. I shall not stop to inquire into the soundness of these doctrines, or whether I held the truth in error; my only object here being, according to your request, to speak of my youth biographically, or give you a sketch of some of my juvenile experiences. The consequences upon my mind and happiness were disastrous in the extreme. Often, on going to bed at night, did the objects of the day and the faces of friends give place to a vision of the awful throne, the inexorable Judge, and the hapless myriads, among whom I often seemed to see those whom I loved best; and there I wept and sobbed until Nature found that counterfeit repose in exhaustion whose genuine reality she should have found in freedom from care and the spontaneous happiness of childhood. What seems most deplorable in the retrospect, all these fears and sufferings, springing from a belief in the immutability of the decrees that had been made, never prompted me to a single good action, or had the slightest efficacy in deterring me from a bad one. I remained in this condition of mind until I was twelve years of age. I remember the day, the hour, the place, the circumstances, as well as though the event had happened but yesterday, when

in an agony of despair, I broke the spell that had bound me. From that day, I began to construct the theory of Christian ethics and doctrine respecting virtue and vice, rewards and penalties, time and eternity, God and His Providence, which with such modifications as advancing age and wider vision must impart, I still retain, and out of which my life has flowed. I have come round again to a belief in the eternity of rewards and punishments, as a fact necessarily resulting from the constitution of our nature; but how infinitely different, in its effects upon conduct, character, and happiness, is this belief from that which blasted and consumed the joy of my childhood!" [58: 13-15]

And so out of weakness, strength; out of defeat, triumph; out of despair, the inspiration of a great life.

*"Thus at the flaming forge of life  
Our fortunes must be wrought;  
Thus on its sounding anvil shaped  
Each burning deed and thought."*

## CHAPTER III

### Horace Mann at Antioch

SOME TWENTY MILES from the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea in the midst of a fertile plain with the noble mountains round about, there was established in the far long ago the city of Antiochus, on the river Orontes, most magnificent city of the Hellenistic Kings of Syria. Three hundred years before Christ the city was founded, and, until Constantinople assumed leadership, it continued to be the chief city of the East. It was a beautiful city, this Crown of the East, as the people of Antiochus loved to call their home, progressive, magnificent, luxurious, rich in all beautiful things. When the time of the Christ drew near it was still a notable city. Here in this city of magnificent history came Paul, the apostle, and Antiochus became Antioch, home of the mother church of Gentile Christianity, place of the first ministry of the great disciple, the starting-point from whence he set out on his memorable missionary journeys through Asia Minor and Greece. It seemed particularly a city of religious possibilities and when at the end of the fourth century of the new era it became the home of a theological school which had been in course of formation for nearly a century, under the fostering of the learned presbyters of Antioch, it was little wonder that it distinguished itself by diffusing a taste for Scriptural knowledge and arrived at a middle course between a vigorously literal and an allegorical method of interpretation. The new Antioch was not a city, but a college, a college destined to a storm-tossed history, where noble men and women have been educated, where bitter feuds have been fought, where truth has triumphed.—W. S. HARWOOD, 40:153.

ANTIOCH College was born of dreams and aspirations. Three streams of influence are apparent. For the Christians—who had gained a new vision of the religion of Jesus and who took the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice, each member to be his own interpreter of its meaning—Antioch College was a dream of new leadership more generously prepared for the opportunities the church opened to them. For the citizens of Yellow Springs, and of Ohio, it was the dream of a great and growing city with education and wealth for all. For Horace Mann it was a dream of building in what was then the traditionless West an institution of higher learning open to all regardless of race, sex, creed, or wealth, which would set the highest standards of scholarship and character. This college was to do new things in new ways; to be a veritable leaven for the new empire that was building in the Mississippi valley—aptly called the valley of democracy. In his vivid imagination Horace Mann saw as others had seen before him the immense possibilities of this valley. He wrote: "Wherever the capital of the United States may be, this valley will be its seat of empire. No other valley—the Danube, the Ganges, the Nile, or the Amazon—is ever to exert so formative an influence as this upon the destinies of men; and, therefore, in civil polity, in ethics, in studying and obeying the laws of God, it must ascend to the contemplation of a future and enduring reign of beneficence and peace."

To Horace Mann Antioch College was a dream of doing for higher education in the vigorous and sturdy West what he had done for the lower levels of education in his beloved Massachusetts. It was a dream of intimate personal associa-

tion with strong young men and women and with able consecrated Christian teachers. It was a dream of rounding out a great career already world-famous for the work in Massachusetts. It was the dream of exalting education as the foundation of democracy and the support of a beneficent religion.

Biographers of Horace Mann have commonly been puzzled by his decision to go to Antioch. They have often taken the view that it was a foolhardy enterprise in which the talents of a great and good man were largely wasted. We do not share this view. In the first place Horace Mann did not give up his interest in education when in the spring of 1848 he took a seat in Congress. On April 24, 1848, at the very beginning of his Congressional service he wrote from Washington to his friend Cyrus Peirce: "I find myself as comfortably situated here as I could expect; but I have not the slightest expectation of ever feeling any attachment for the position. I have no idea that I can make my efforts tell on the body with which I am associated. From present appearances, I have not run away from correspondence on schools and education, but into it. I may have an opportunity to do an unseen work in this behalf—even greater than I have ever done before. I have seen enough already to give me even a deeper conviction of the necessity and indispensableness of education than I ever had before. It is the only name whereby a republic can be saved. If I ever return to the field, as I hope to, I shall return with new motives for exertion and zeal." [58:266]

On April 26, 1848, he wrote to Dr. Jarvis: "And now, my dear sir, you do not know how homesick and state-sick I am; that is, how I long to get back among the boys and girls of the Massachusetts schools. One consideration only helps to reconcile me to the change. I am satisfied that I was on the point of breaking down remedilessly when I came away. If

my heart was not growing hard, my brain was growing soft. I begin to feel a little better. If my health is restored, I shall be back in the *vineyard* again before long." [58:267]

On July 18, 1848, he wrote again: "The fate of millions and millions is to be voted upon as it is thought the temporary and evanescent interests of politicians will be best subserved. 'Who shall be President?' is deemed of more consequence than whether there shall be millions of slaves in the West in each generation, and a thousand or million generations of these. I see, every day, more and more, the necessity of the great work of education; and were I young, or had I my old strength again, nothing should keep me from that work of works." [58:267]

In the second place, he believed that his most uncertain health would benefit from a change of scene and activity. On April 12, 1849, he wrote to his English friend George Combe explaining his failure to write sooner:

"Silence is not forgetfulness. On February 23, 1848, Mr. J. Q. Adams died, struck down in his seat on the floor of Congress. Having recently moved into the Congressional District which he represented, I was nominated as his successor in the following March; and, on the third day of April, was elected.

"Can I justify myself to you for having laid down an educational office, and taken up a political one? I can truly say, that, on my part, the change was an involuntary one. After the nomination was made, I prepared an answer, peremptorily declining it. But various collateral incidents and accidental causes led a council of my best friends to decide that I should reverse my purpose. Among other considerations, I think a regard for my health was the most decisive; and, if my health or life were worth anything, they were right.

I now verily believe that another year, without aid and without relaxation, would have closed my labors upon earth. On the 13th of April, I went to Washington. Soon after, I resigned my Secretaryship; but the Board, not being prepared to appoint a successor, requested me to continue to discharge its duties till the close of the year. This I consented to do, especially as it would afford me an opportunity to make a final Report—a peroration to the rest. Thus, instead of being a relay, I was made to run double stages—to perform the duties of a member in Congress, and by correspondence to carry on the Secretaryship. . . .

“After the 1st of September, on my return home, I had all my arrears of official business to bring up, institutes to attend, and my Report to make. I went to Washington in November to argue the questions of law, and again in December to attend the session. I returned home on the 5th of March, 1849. We had a fortnight of the worst possible weather before I left Washington, and three weeks of the same kind after I got home. Exposure to this, the fatigue of travelling, and being up all night, as we were some of the last nights of the session, *abolished me*. I have had no lungs, no stomach, no brains, or only had them as foes, and not as allies. Within a week past, we have had fine weather; and my vital currents are once more beginning to flow.” [58:277-79]

Horace Mann is sometimes pictured as making a clearcut choice between the governorship of Massachusetts and the presidency of Antioch College. Great decisions are rarely so simple as that, nor was Horace Mann's. It is true that he did make a decision between politics—into which he had been drawn by circumstances and the urging of friends—and education, which was clearly his deeper life interest. It is true that the offer of the Antioch presidency and the Free-Soil

nomination for the governorship came at about the same time, creating a dramatic situation. But it is also true that Horace Mann's chances in politics were not good. The irrepressible conflict that led to the Civil War was growing more tense. The slave power controlled not only the South, but also the press, the colleges, and most of the prominent politicians of the North. The Whigs, threatened with disintegration, were vainly seeking to hold their southern members. In the election of 1852 the Democratic presidential candidate, General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire carried every state but four, receiving 254 out of 296 electoral votes. The Free-Soil party polled only 156,000, out of more than three million votes, a figure below the record set in the previous campaign. By his attack on Webster's position on slavery Horace Mann had lost the support of those who controlled the Whig party in Massachusetts. The Free-Soil party, seeking to keep slavery out of the territories, did not satisfy the more radical abolitionists, and was not promising for political leadership.

During this fateful period the slave power was pushing from one gain to another in the full expectation of permanently controlling the country. In 1854 Congress repealed the Missouri Compromise. The Democrats were to sweep the country again in 1856. The slave power controlled the Supreme Court, which in March 1857 was to announce the Dred Scott decision and in 1859 was to uphold the Fugitive Slave Law. The West was beginning to hold the balance of power. The Republican party was about to get under way and was to enter the national field in 1856. It was not a promising time in politics, although of course no one could foresee what the decade was to bring forth. In such times of confusion, education and the long look ahead offer the best hope.

Horace Mann's record in Congress and in Washington

clearly shows that he made a substantial contribution to the antislavery cause. A book might well be written on that phase of his life. He hated slavery and could be counted upon to maintain his convictions in the face of opposition. But his views were not so extreme as those of the more radical leaders. He argued that the leaders of the South could not be led to take a more reasonable view by attacking them. He saw the tide turning against slavery and while he expected the reform to require a long time he had some hope that it could be worked out.

Instead of benefiting his health, the change from Massachusetts to the heat and humidity of Washington made it worse, and his struggles against the power and intrigue of slavery made the battles as Secretary of the Board of Education seem peaceful in comparison. While his experience in Washington did not destroy his faith in representative institutions, it did deepen his conviction that they could be made to work only through education.

When the Antioch offer came it fitted so closely into his desire to advance education that he was predisposed to give it the most favorable consideration. It is not surprising that he underestimated the difficulties which we shall deal with later in this chapter. The great West was in one of its boom periods. Optimism was contagious and Horace Mann evidently saw there an opportunity that looked at least as promising as did the Massachusetts Secretaryship when he accepted it in 1837.

Antioch was founded by the sect known as Christians. The movement which they represented sprang up toward the end of the eighteenth century, in the wake of the great revival, almost simultaneously in New Hampshire, North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky. It was a revolt against extreme

formalism in religion and left each member free to interpret the Bible according to his own experience and conscience. The first ministers of this sect were to rely not upon learning, but upon "the gift of the spirit." But toward the middle of the nineteenth century the religious freedom encouraged by the denomination flowered in the aspiration to establish a college for the training of their people, whose influence was spreading and growing as the country moved westward.

It was first expected that the college would be located somewhere in New York, perhaps along the Erie Canal between Albany and Buffalo. But Ohio was ambitious and active and offered greater inducements, so the site was finally located in Yellow Springs, Greene County, Ohio. Judge Mills, then the leading citizen of Yellow Springs, gave a tract of twenty acres of land for the college campus. Plans were laid on a generous scale in keeping with the great expectations of the expanding West.

Ohio was then the new New England beyond the Alleghenies and the streams of influence ran back and forth. Horace Mann's eloquent championship of the free common school had established his fame far and wide. What was more natural than that the ambitious builders should first dream, then contemplate, and then pursue the possibility of having this hero of democracy at the head of their new institution, which was to be the Harvard of the new empire in the West? And so the matter was approached informally at first; with more zeal as Horace Mann's interest became apparent. He was elected to the presidency on September 15 or 17, probably informally on the earlier date which corresponds to that of the chairman's letter of notification, and formally at the latter date as shown by the official trustees minutes in the Antioch Library. He was assured that the finances would be

generously provided for by the trustees, leaving him free to devote his great talents to educational activities. He was to have the privilege of selecting two members of the faculty. His salary was to be \$3000. The school was to be coeducational and non-sectarian, which was in harmony with his views and appealed to him strongly. Here he could work out on the higher levels ideals of democratic education founded on high purpose and sterling character. And so he accepted the presidency and the die was cast.

There was still a term in Congress to be rounded out and more than a year was to pass before the actual opening of the College. The selection of the faculty went forward. Horace Mann was to bring his nephew, C. F. Pennell, and his niece, Rebecca Pennell, who shared his ideals of life and teaching and who were well prepared for the task. Other officers and teachers were selected by the superintendent and the local trustees, with little or no consultation with Mr. Mann. And so at the very start the seeds of confusion and conflict were sown.

The first meeting of the faculty is described in a letter from Mann to Reverend Austin Craig from West Newton, Massachusetts, on November 8, 1852 [58:386-87]:

"Last week, the first Faculty meeting of Antioch College was held at my house. They were here two whole days, and parts of the preceding and following. We had a very full and free discussion on a great variety of points, and came most harmoniously to unanimous conclusions. We have sketched a *provisional*, not *final*, course of preparatory and undergraduate studies, which I intend to copy and send to you for your revision and suggestions.

"I found a most remarkable coincidence of opinion and sentiment among the persons present, not only as to theory, but in practical matters. . . . We were all teetotalers; all anti-



*An early view of Antioch College*

tobacco men; all antislavery men; a majority of us believers in phrenology; all anti-emulation men—that is, all against any system of rewards and prizes designed to withdraw the mind from a comparison of itself with a standard of excellence, and to substitute a rival for that standard. We agreed entirely in regard to religious and chapel exercises, etc. The meeting was very satisfactory, and has raised my hopes very much as to the ultimate success of the enterprise. I can never, however, sufficiently regret that you are not of our number. I hope you will be ere long.

“I read to the persons present a part of your letter of Oct. 14, in which you speak of a *magazine* for the place. We all exclaimed that you were the person to carry out your own idea. You must leave your limited circle at Blooming Grove, and speak to them, and to all good men from Yellow Springs. What a wide sphere for your improving influence!”



*The Antioch towers today*

Early in September, 1853, Horace Mann journeyed to Yellow Springs. Mrs. Mann in her biography thus describes what they found on arrival: "The ambitious brick towers of Antioch College were the first objects to be seen on approaching the spot; and its unfinished aspect was symbolical of the unripe condition of all its affairs. Mr. Mann once tried to describe it by saying, that, 'supposing creation had lately issued out of chaos, it might be about as late in the week as Wednesday!' It was situated on a tableland, which, two years previously, had been despoiled of a magnificent forest to make way for that source of Western wealth, wheat. The stumps of the trees still remained standing at the very threshold of the college. Eastern energy, starting upon the basis of Western promises, had projected it thus far into being; but its location was too near Slave-land not to feel the influence of its tardy fulfilments of all purposes. There was not even any-

one standing ready to receive the new president, except one of his own relatives who had arrived three days before him. No house had been built for his accommodation, as had been promised; nor had he received any intimation of the fact. No provision had even been made for a temporary residence of ten persons, but, happily, a large boarding-house, whose summer residents had left but a few weeks before, was by much persuasion opened to him at the moment. There were not many comforts in it: but he and his friends were strung up to a high tension of nervous energy, and contempt of trifles, having been forewarned, by one who knew something of Western life, that 'the change from the quiet comforts of a New England home would be found a matter both for laughter and for tears;' and the party took possession of the deserted rooms, which they were allowed to arrange for themselves, and which, by dint of a few old stoves, were made habitable for a fall residence. The college buildings were far from being completed; and it was only by means of the most strenuous exertions, even by Sabbath-day labors, that the chapel was made ready for the reception of the large number of guests who were expected to be present on the day of inauguration." [58:404-05]

In spite of every handicap, the opening of the College on October 5, 1853, was impressive and inspiring. The committee, fearing too large a crowd, had been cautious in advertising the event. But when the day came, three thousand persons assembled, more than the village could accommodate, so that many were obliged to sleep in their carriages. What a difference one's point of view makes! This unfinished college plant, which to an easterner—used to the maturity of an established order—might have seemed crude, was to these western pioneers the rising star of a new hope.

And so the College opened with enthusiasm and one of Horace Mann's great addresses which was later printed in a small book and used to promote the school and which appears in full elsewhere in this volume. The enrolment was not large. The figures given by Vallance [81:480] for the period of Horace Mann's presidency are 1853-54, 236; 1854-55, 379; 1855-56, 363; 1856-57, 539; 1857-58, 410, showing the force of the panic of 1857; 1858-59, 321. In general the proportion of men to women was about two to one. Such numbers are not impressive today, when more people go to college than went to highschool even as late as 1910. But they were impressive then. And most of the students were in the preparatory rather than in the college department.

The faculty consisted of President Mann, who was professor of Political Economy, Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Constitutional Law, and Natural Theology; Reverend W. H. Doherty, who was professor of Rhetoric, Logic, and Belles Lettres; Ira W. Allen, professor of Mathematics, Astronomy, and Civil Engineering, who was absent in Europe the first year and who was later to become disaffected and to cause trouble; Reverend Thomas Holmes, professor of Greek Language and Literature; C. F. Pennell, nephew of Horace Mann and professor of Latin Language and Literature; Miss Rebecca M. Pennell, Mann's niece, professor of Physical Geography and Drawing, Natural History, Civil History, and Didactics; and Reverend A. L. McKinney, principal of the preparatory school. The list also contained places for a professor of Chemistry, and Theory and Practice of Agriculture; a professor of Mineralogy and Geology; and a professor of Modern Languages, which were to be provided for later. During Professor Allen's absence his work was carried by Miss Julia A. Hitchcock, afterwards Mrs. Fay.

The titles of the professors give some idea of the curriculum. The following "Divisions of Time" from the first catalog shows how the students' day was organized:

#### DIVISIONS OF TIME

The divisions of time for the fore-part of the day are the same for both sexes, and for the winter and summer.

At 6 o'clock	Morning Bell
At 6:45	Breakfast
At 7:45	Chapel Exercises
From 8 to 11	Study or Recitation
From 11 to 11:30	Exercise
From 11:30 to 1:30	Study or Recitation
At 1:30	Dinner

For the after-part of the day, for the ladies, during the entire year:

From 2 to 4 o'clock	Exercise
From 4 to 6	Study
At 6:30	Supper
From 7:30 until retiring	Study

For gentlemen during winter:

From 2 to 4 o'clock	Exercise
From 4 to 6	Study
At 6:30	Supper
From 7:30 until retiring	Study

During summer:

From 2 to 3 o'clock	Exercise
From 3 to 5	Study
From 5 to 6:30	Exercise
At 6:30	Supper
From 7:30 until retiring	Study

And thus the College got underway. Horace Mann established himself in Ohio. He taught, preached, lectured, guided, and inspired both in the College and from the public platform. He became the leader of the forces of higher education in the new West and his influence moved westward with the course of empire. Call his Antioch period one of failure and defeat if you will, but give us more such failures!

Horace Mann attempted three impossibles at Antioch:

To administer a college with authority so divided among himself, a superintendent, and the trustees as to invite conflict and discord; to operate during a period of boom and panic a college that was bankrupt before it opened; to maintain a non-sectarian school under sectarian auspices. That he should underestimate these difficulties is quite understandable. Concepts of fixed responsibility and unified administration were not then so well developed as now. He accepted at their face value the assurances of the trustees that they would care for the finances, having lived in Massachusetts where such promises were less lightly given than in the West, where people were counting their speculative expectations as wealth in hand. He could not, of course, foresee that the country was already preparing for the panic of 1857. And as for the sectarian issue, had not the Christians proved their liberality by choosing a president known to be liberal in his views of religion, but sharing their own emphasis on character as the test of Christian fellowship?

Of the three impossibles, the divided responsibility, although always a source of difficulty, yielded most to Mann's resourcefulness. The sectarian issue was raised and pressed by that most difficult and dangerous of all foes, the mistaken but earnest sectarian. Ira W. Allen, who had been dropped from the faculty, issued a book which undoubtedly injured the



*The President's House at Antioch College occupied by Horace Mann. The House later burned, and the Horace Mann Library was erected on the site.*

College and added much to Mann's worries, although statements which Allen attributed to them were publicly repudiated by the leading actors in the situation. The details are not important here. History affords abundant evidence of the pettiness and meanness of religious controversy. People find it so easy to mistake their blindness, prejudice, and bitterness for the will of God. Through all the controversy and in the face of grave accusations, Horace Mann maintained his dignity and good sense.

Finances were even harder to deal with, especially in the face of the panic of 1857, and particularly in the West where people were land rich and money poor. Gifts and promises mean little under such circumstances. In the beginning the College had been set up on a wrong financial foundation.

Scholarships were sold for one hundred dollars each and frequently notes were given to pay for them. Each scholarship was transferable and entitled the holder always to have one student in attendance without the payment of tuition. The plan was predicated on the assumption that only one out of every five or six scholarships would be in use at one time, so that the six percent interest which could then be expected on the principal would more than cover the tuition which was twenty-four dollars a year. But not so, the owners of practically all the scholarships called for complete service and from the first there was heavy borrowing to meet current expenses in spite of curtailment in these expenses.

It became increasingly apparent that something would have to be done. Horace Mann describes the situation in a letter to E. Conant, dated September 17, 1857:

"It is not a pleasant task to answer the letter which your grandson put into my hands yesterday. Nevertheless, I will do it frankly and directly, and, I trust, in a manner satisfactory to you.

"The college was founded upon a rotten basis. By no possibility can a student be educated here for six dollars a year, or for six times that sum. It was intended to obtain four or five times as many scholarships as there would be scholars; but that, though intended, was never effected.

"The consequence was, that the college has been running deeper and deeper into debt ever since it was opened. There was the most deplorable mismanagement in the building of it, as has since been ascertained, on the part of Mr. M—, so that it ran in debt greatly; and, since it opened, those debts have been increasing. Effort after effort has been made to pay off the debts; but they have all failed. We have thought from time to time that they would succeed; but we have been de-

plorably disappointed. At last it became apparent that the indebtedness of the college would not only require all the scholarship-fund for its payment, but would render every scholarship-holder liable for an additional amount beyond his scholarship, and equal to it; that is, every owner of a scholarship would not only lose his scholarship, but be liable for a hundred dollars besides. This, of course, would never do. The only alternative, therefore, was to transfer the college property for the payment of its debts, and begin anew on the basis of tuition. I say there was no alternative but this, or an entire breaking-up of the school, and an abandonment of the property to the creditors. The friends of the institution chose the former; and, though a misfortune, it was the least of the misfortunes before them. This they have done. Members of the Board of Trustees and others have subscribed six thousand dollars to help carry on the school this year; and we hope to meet the residue of the expense from tuition-fees and other resources. I have made the above statement as that of the trustees; in which, however, I fully concur. I have not yet stated, that, every year since I have been here, I have made more sacrifice for the college than the sum which you have paid. I am willing to make more if it can be saved for education, and a liberal, unsectarian Christianity. Are you not ready, my dear sir, to do the same? What better use can we make of our means? We now know the worst of it. This assignment cancels all the debts. Now we can start anew. Should a company be formed to buy in the college, and carry it on on the new basis (say to be owned in shares of five hundred dollars each), would you not still, for so great an object, take one of the shares? The college has done immense good already. I trust the Lord has friends enough to sustain it for the still greater good it may do hereafter." [58:509-11]

Amid difficulties, tribulations, and bankruptcy, the college was kept going until on April 22, 1859, it was reincorporated under conditions which left it free to go forward under the management of its friends. But alas, it was too late. The years of toil had told on Horace Mann's body. The strain of reorganization and of the 1859 commencement activities to which Mann gave his last energy without reserve was too much and so on August 2, 1859, came the tragic death which is described in another chapter.

It is not easy to state in simple terms Horace Mann's contribution to higher education, and it is not surprising that authorities differ in their interpretations. It is usually said that the distinctive thing about the Antioch of Horace Mann's time was its liberalism in opening its doors to all, regardless of race, sex, or creed, and in doing what not even Oberlin had yet done—placing women on its faculty on the same basis as men.

We believe that even more distinctive than this liberalism were other phases: First, the conception of higher education as being folk education, responsible directly for meeting the needs of the people in the same way he had sought to make elementary schools meet those needs, only on a higher plane.

Second, the experimental attitude toward higher education which had become so crystallized in set patterns that it needed then, as it does today, a willingness to question tradition and to try new things. In a recent article, President Algo D. Henderson points out that Horace Mann emphasized electives long before the day of Charles W. Eliot, who is commonly associated with this innovation:

"Elective studies might not be new, but they were so little known that the makers of the first Antioch catalog found it expedient to add a footnote explaining the term. Among the



*Monument on the Antioch College grounds where Horace Mann was first buried*

'electives' in Mann's Antioch were the theory and art of teaching (the first 'education' course ever given in a liberal arts college), drawing, modern languages, and history. Perhaps the most amusing bit of leeway in the whole program was that which allowed sophomores in their third term to choose between either the study of differential and integral calculus, or the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles of the Greek Testament." [118:8]

Third, and even more important, the supreme emphasis placed upon moral and religious feeling, exemplified in right conduct as the basis of higher education—an emphasis desperately needed in these days when too many members of college and university faculties are inclined to abdicate their moral responsibility and to hide behind a narrow intellectualism, which permits the student body to ape the indulgences of the world outside.

Horace Mann—had his last efforts been placed in a more favorable situation in a less tragic and futile period of the national existence—might have given a very different direction to higher education in the United States and to all education a unity which it has not yet achieved. What is higher education? It is not merely advanced education. It is not specialized education in the professions or the technologies. It is the foundation of all of these if they are to have a worthy foundation—a foundation for the good life itself. It is moral, civic, and cultural, clearly implying that the college shall hold itself above the ignorance and weakness of the world outside in an effort to preserve and advance the best in civilization.

We have the greatest faith in higher education when it is really “higher” and broader. But closely specialized education in the various vocations and professions is not “higher.” We have a generation of lawyers, engineers, business men, doctors, and even teachers who know so little about the world in general that they cannot understand their times, nor can they take the steps necessary to avoid or correct the evils that high specialization creates. They are so absorbed in the parts that they fail to understand the whole.

Nor is advanced education without a corresponding sense of personal duty and social conscience “higher” education. It may lead to the most serious social and civic consequences. Witness the fact that the man who for many years was the head of the New York stock exchange and an honored graduate of one of America’s leading universities is now a convict in Sing Sing Prison for the vast misuse of other people’s money. It is quite possible that the seriousness of the breakdown in 1929 and the years following was actually accentuated by the graduate schools of business administration—so largely endowed, financed, and staffed by men associated

with giant business and industry as to accentuate rather than correct the evils that have grown up in our industrial and business system.

To understand Horace Mann's contribution to higher education it is well to bear in mind the two opposite streams of influence which have poured into the development of American education. One of these streams came down from the universities of the Middle Ages through the professions of law, ministry, and medicine and is exemplified by such great private foundations as Harvard and Yale which, substantial though their contributions have been, are not always democratic in direction or spirit.

The other stream born in the upward surge of the masses toward democracy and selfgovernment, found its beginnings in the common school which was close to the people and in the early normal schools which were also "folk" schools built by the people to train teachers for the common schools—a project which the universities long considered unimportant.

It is not strange that these two streams of influence should have arisen. The forces that produced them are as old as history. It is strange that the dichotomy which they have produced in American education has not been more generally recognized. Three phases of it are conspicuous in present tendencies. First the predilection of the universities—now that they have been driven to preparing teachers by the growth of the normal school idea—to seek a monopoly of the preparation of highschool teachers and to try to confine the teachers colleges, which have grown out of the normal schools, to the preparation of teachers for the elementary schools. Were this policy to succeed, which it probably will not, it would harm the teachers colleges, the schools of education in the universities, and most of all the common elementary and high-

schools. The most difficult and important work of education is on the elementary levels and if the universities have any contribution to make through science and research they should devote themselves to those levels as well as to preparing high-school teachers. There is an additional consideration no less important. To attach the highschools exclusively to the universities would be to overemphasize anew their character as preparatory schools and to minimize their importance as folk schools—as genuine “houses of the people.”

A second phase of the dichotomy in American education relates to rural education—the lack of coordination between the state and national departments of agriculture and the rural schools. The United States Department of Agriculture grew out of scientific work in the universities, drawing heavily on Wisconsin and Nebraska. The lack of understanding of the common school or “folk” school which existed in the universities carried over into this new department of the United States government so that instead of working in and through the rural school, it neglected the improvement of that school and attempted to build up through separate agencies and at great expense a mechanism for disseminating a knowledge of scientific agriculture and new ideals of rural life. Although the quality of teaching has greatly improved, the rural school has generally remained poor in finance, in curriculum, and in supervision. This situation can be corrected only through federal aid to build up the effectiveness of rural and village schools *as a whole*. A program for such aid is now before Congress with the support of leaders in agriculture.

A phase of the dichotomy in American education, closely related to the other two, concerns the efforts of the great financial foundations to become a controlling influence in the

teachers colleges as they have so largely become in the universities. The foundations have done good and can do more, but by their very nature they are associated with the great accumulations of wealth which like the slave power of an earlier day, have a mighty interest in thwarting the reforms necessary to the evolution of democracy—reforms which should be able to recruit their leadership from schools dedicated heart and soul to the democratic principle.

As between these two streams of influence—one leaning toward special privilege and the other toward popular democracy—Horace Mann belonged clearly to the latter. In *Thoughts for a Young Man* [6:57] he wrote: "Vast fortunes are a misfortune to the state. They confer irresponsible power; and human nature, except in the rarest instances, has proved incapable of wielding irresponsible power, without abuse. The feudalism of Capital is not a whit less formidable than the feudalism of Force. The millionaire is as dangerous to the welfare of the community, in our day, as was the baronial lord of the Middle Ages. Both supply the means of shelter and of raiment on the same conditions; both hold their retainers in service by the same tenure—their necessity for bread; both use their superiority to keep themselves superior. The power of money is as imperial as the power of the sword; and I may as well depend upon another for my head, as for my bread. The day is sure to come, when men will look back upon the prerogatives of Capital, at the present time, with as severe and as just a condemnation as we now look back upon the predatory chieftains of the Dark Ages."

No one can estimate how much it might have meant could Horace Mann have gone forward at Antioch to carry higher education to a new plane of effectiveness as he had done the common schools of Massachusetts. He himself was up from

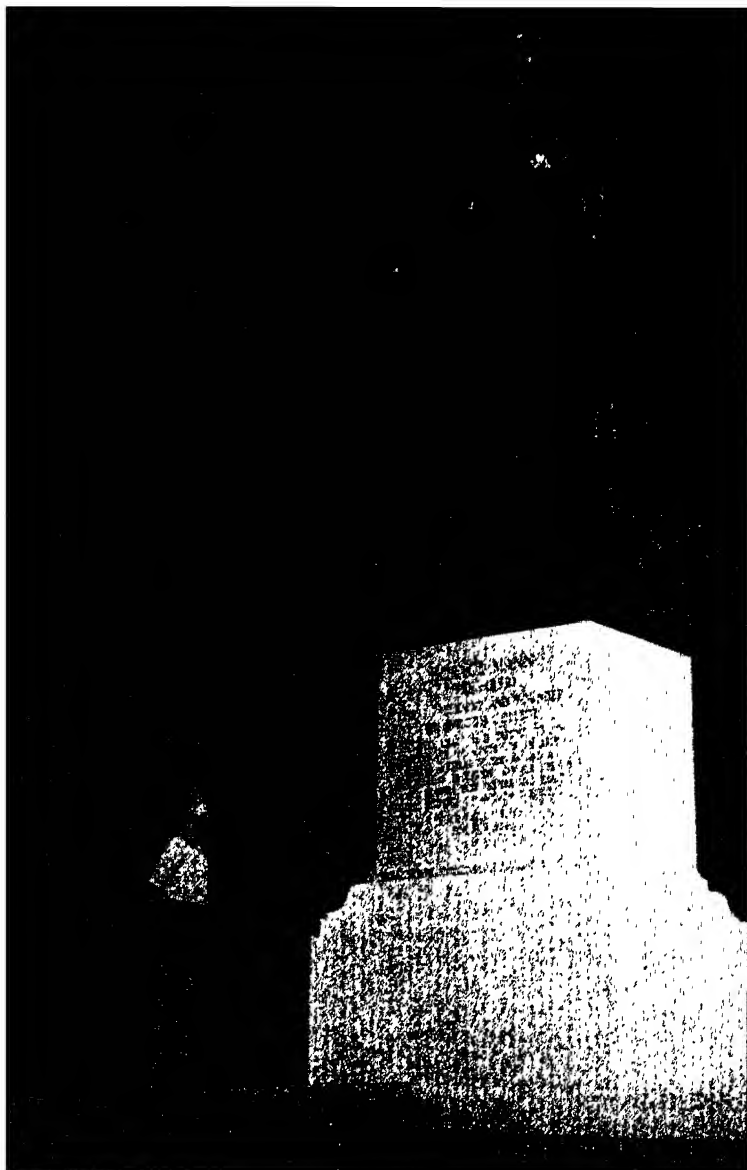
the soil and close to the people. From the circumstances of his birth he early became sympathetic with the poor and the lowly and championed their cause. His work in building the Massachusetts common school system intensified his sense of the relationship between education and democracy, so that when he came to Ohio to found Antioch College, he had the dream that it, too, would be a "folk" school, that higher education would thereby be given a new direction concerned with the education of all the people in all the things that make for good living, with a deep sense of responsibility for the common good and for democratic institutions.

We close this chapter with estimates of Horace Mann given by two careful students of his life. The first is by George Allen Hubbell, one time member of the Antioch faculty:

"Mr. Mann attempted to carry out on a higher plane and in a more mature way, the same ideal which he had held before himself for the public school, and indeed, it seems to me that his ideal bears a striking resemblance to the public school ideals of today. With such modifications as were necessary, he attempted to apply this ideal in college administration. It was an ideal recognized and dealt with in several aspects. The larger features were coeducation and nonsectarianism, mutual helpfulness or service, a sense of personal obligation to the life of the college and the larger life of the state. The spirit of caste he definitely and clearly opposed as a feature which would be hurtful to the twofold object of Antioch—'Glory to God and service to man.' His highest gift to educational thought was the Antioch Spirit. This is an attitude of mind and heart. It means plain living and high thinking, the spirit of selfconquest, and such simplicity and directness of character as leads one to fundamental conditions, inspiring him 'to find the law of things and to master facts and their

significance;’ but it loves knowledge less for its own sake than for the high uses to which it may be applied. It seeks to recognize and welcome truth in every form and at any cost. From the fundamental belief that all men are children of God, it develops a spirit of love for one’s fellowmen which finds expression in service of intrinsic worth. It has large charity and a faith which believes that the divine in man will triumph.” [51:10-11]

The other quotation is from a statement by W. A. Bell in the *Proceedings* of the National Education Association, 1896: “No other college president ever had before him a more susceptible body of students; and no other body of students ever had over them a more honored president, or one with greater power to impress himself. Those six years were years of sacrifice, filled with many petty annoyances and grievous disappointments to Mr. Mann; but at the same time they were years of great victory for the causes for which he was laboring. In those six years he did more for the higher education and for the elevation of women, than any other man in any other place ever did in a quarter of a century. In those six years he demonstrated to the world that men and women can be educated together with mutual advantage to both intellect and morals. . . . In those six years he showed how a college can be Christian in the best sense in which that word can be used, and at the same time not sectarian. In those six years he did much to prove that conduct and character rather than opinion are the essential things in this life. In those six years he impressed his high ideals upon hundreds and hundreds of young people in such a way as to change the entire character of their after lives. His power to inspire was phenomenal. In those six years, outside college walls, in educational meetings, and on the lecture platform, in Ohio, and



*Photograph by Russell B. Stebbins*

*Emma Stebbins' Statue of Horace Mann on the Antioch College campus*

other western states, by his magical power as a speaker, he stimulated thousands of people to nobler thinking and higher living. In those six years he imbued Antioch College with a spirit that still pervades it; which stimulates to higher aims and nobler purposes everyone who is brought within its influence. Those six years were a glorious climax to one of the grandest lives this world has ever known. Horace Mann shared the fate of all the saints of the past, who have lived in advance of their age, and have had the courage of their convictions—he had enemies. He was cannonaded while living, and is canonized being dead.” [24:74]

## CHAPTER IV

### Horace Mann as a Teacher

*THE most rapturous moments of my life are when young people come to me in private, or write to me, saying that their whole view and plan of life, their ideas of duty and of destiny, have been changed by what they have heard from me. Thanks be to God, the occasions of this kind are not few, but many; and there is scarcely a week in my life, when, by letter or otherwise, I have not some such assurance.*—HORACE MANN in a letter to Reverend O. J. Wait, September 22, 1858. [58:536]

THE foundation of Horace Mann's greatness at Antioch as in Massachusetts was in his character as a teacher. He was always and everywhere the teacher, filled with the deepest personal concern that people should make the most of themselves. Whether on the lecture platform, in classroom, or in conference with individuals, he had his deepest satisfaction in helping people with their lives. One of the greatest lessons Horace Mann has for our day is in this devotion to personal work with individuals; for in our passion to be objective and scientific, we too often forget to be vital and human.

I have known those who knew Horace Mann personally and I have known the children and the grandchildren of his students at Antioch, and I have yet to meet one who did not have the stamp of Horace Mann's influence upon him. I have heard others give the same testimony and as I study the way this personal effect was achieved, I come to the method of

personal work which seeks always to help the student to form right purposes and to manage well his diverse talents.

Horace Mann believed in *education*, but he understood the importance of *training*, and knew well that one could not be separated from the other in any well-rounded plan. He believed people should know and appreciate and have broad tastes and interests; but above all he believed that they should *do* and that the more they knew the greater their moral obligation to *do*. It is through deeds that ethical precepts become realities in human life. It is through deeds that skill develops and strength comes. One thinks of the old verse:

*"Kind hearts are the gardens;  
Kind thoughts are the roots;  
Kind words are the blossoms;  
Kind deeds are the fruits."*

At the opening of Antioch in accepting some Bibles that had been presented to the College, Horace Mann set forth the purpose of the College with an emphasis on training, which was to characterize his entire service there:

"Now, sir, no one knows better than yourself, that a single institution cannot compass all purposes. As our College is not to be a theological or divinity school, we do not propose to inculcate creeds, articles, or confessions of faith; but we do intend, and, with the blessing of God, we do hope, to train our pupils to a practical Christian life, and to make divine thoughts and contemplations become to them, as it were, their daily bread. We mean to administer this College as a literary and Christian institution, where the mind is to be replenished with knowledge, where the affections are to be trained to duty; where all the faculties of the soul are to be devoted and urged on to the acquisition of truth—knowing that Truth and

God are one—and where hands shall be made strong and hearts brave, not only in contending for the right, but in contending against the wrong.”

There is crying need today for the sort of personal guidance teaching that was so important a part of Horace Mann’s work. He like Washington sought to raise a standard that would stand the test of the ages. He saw no reason why our great people with the wealth of a virgin continent before them should copy the vices and indulgences of less advanced peoples. He hated tobacco and liquor as he hated other poisons, but like Lincoln he understood that many good people had become enslaved by addiction to their use. He loved the people, but hated the evil, and sought reform through education always working toward the ideals of character which he believed essential to the wellbeing of the Republic.

Horace Mann was not too weak and indifferent to face up to that most difficult of all tasks—coming to grips with the character weaknesses of individual students. Like Franklin—whose plan of selfimprovement has helped many people to a better way of life—Mann saw that weaknesses in character could no more be ignored than weaknesses in scholarship if there was to be development of the whole man.

In these days when the head of a rich university—President Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago—can say as he often does in public that the university has nothing to do with the formation of character, it is time to stop and think. Do you believe this statement by Hutchins which appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* [131:72], a weekly with a circulation of nearly three million copies?

“Some three hundred college and university presidents recently answered a questionnaire in which they were asked to list, in the order of importance, what they regarded as the

purposes of their institutions. Mental discipline, which ranked first sixty years ago, according to a recent analysis of the college catalogs of that day, now ranks twenty-second among the twenty-five avowed purposes of our institutions of higher learning. It is preceded by such objects of higher education as good manners. 'Good manners' have no place in the program of higher education. 'Personality' has no place in the program of higher education. 'Character' has no place in the program of higher education. College develops character by giving young people the habits of hard work and honest analysis. If it tries to teach character directly, it succeeds only in being boring."

In this age of confusion great commercialized groups spend tens of millions of dollars each year to impoverish and debauch the people with liquor and tobacco. Some of the brightest psychologists—devoid of a sense of duty to the common welfare—are not in the colleges and universities but in the employ of these parasitic industries, who pay them great salaries to use press, radio, movie, and billboard to inculcate habits that weaken and destroy. And how rarely is the voice of a college president raised in protest! Is it a wholesome condition when more is spent for liquor and tobacco each year than for schools and churches combined? Is this not symptomatic of a general disregard of standards which make civilization and order possible?

We need a new sense of values. We need men and women of such detachment that they can recognize weaknesses even which they themselves possess. It is a fact of common observation that men and women with keen minds and high artistic talent are often most poorly balanced in other ways. It is of the utmost importance both for their own sakes and for the sake of society that they shall be guided into an all-round

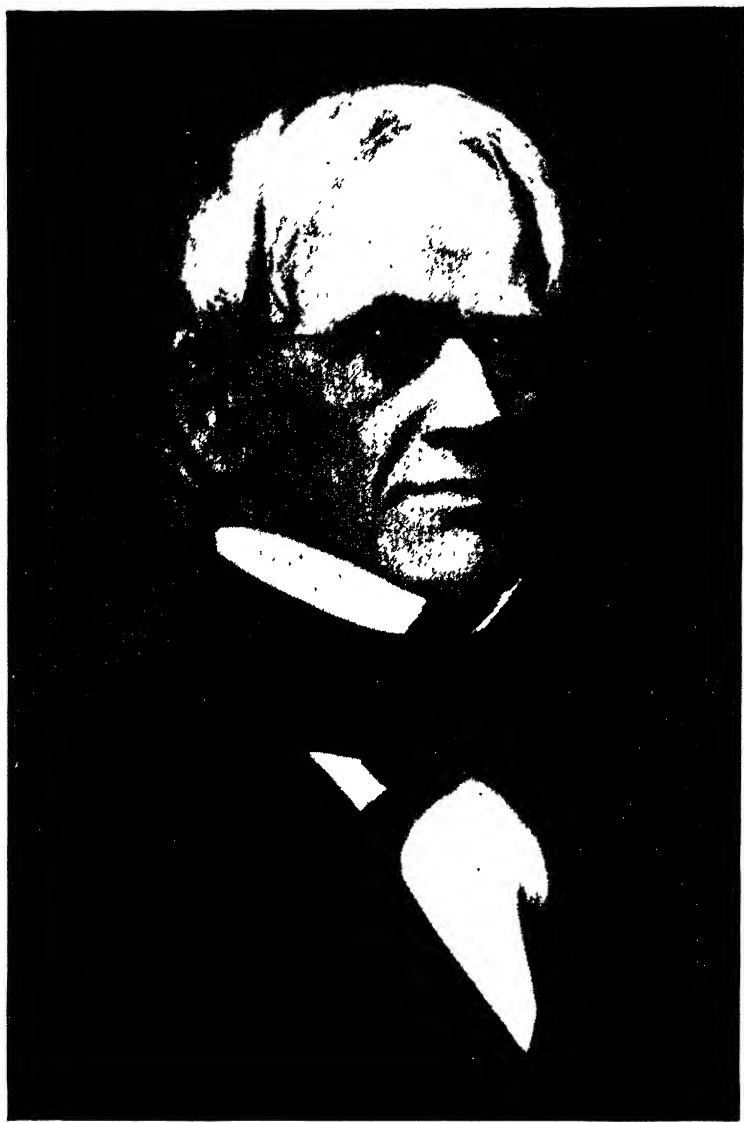
development that shall include the affections and a sense of responsibility for the common welfare; that they shall be dissuaded if necessary from dissipating their great talents on trivialities and futilities. Such was Horace Mann's teaching.

This theme of training in practical Christian living was further elaborated in the famous Antioch Sermons which Horace Mann delivered to the students on Sundays. Twelve of the sermons were published in a book in 1860 by Ticknor and Fields of Boston. The emphasis of them all is in the first paragraph of the first sermon [15:11]:

"In the new and almost parental relation in which I stand to young men and young women, I propose to deliver a series of discourses on various subjects pertaining to Human Duty, and particularly designed to show that the realization of Happiness can alone come from the performance of Duty."

Horace Mann felt keenly the relation of individual character to national wellbeing and destiny. In his opening address as president of the Convention of Teachers and Superintendents of Public Schools, held at Philadelphia, 1849, he said:

"And what are we doing to prepare for the great exigencies of the future, which the providence of God seems to have placed in our hands; and, I speak it with reverence, to have left to our disposal? A responsibility is upon us that we cannot shake off. We cannot escape with the lying plea of Cain, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' Let us then be aroused by every consideration that can act upon the mind of a patriot, a philanthropist, or a Christian; and let us give our hands, our heads, and our hearts to the great work of human improvement through the instrumentality of free common schools. As far as in us lies, let us save from ruin, physical, intellectual, and moral, the thousands and hundreds of thousands, aye, the millions and hundreds of millions of the



*From a daguerreotype in the Teachers College Library, Columbia University*

HORACE MANN

*America's Greatest Educator*

human race to whom we are bound by the ties of a common nature and of kindred blood, and who, without our assistance, will miserably perish, but with our assistance, may be saved to usefulness and honor and immortal glory." [12:469]

In this process of forming standards of conduct and of training students to live by them, Horace Mann knew that for the best results students and teachers must hold a common aim. One of his close associates, Professor George L. Cary of the Meadville, Pennsylvania, Theological Seminary, wrote [51:63] on August 17, 1899, to George A. Hubbell:

"I was associated with Mr. Mann as a member of the faculty of Antioch College from 1856 to 1859, the last three years of his life. Our personal relations were intimate and friendly. I think his dominating purpose was to build up an institution in which no less stress should be laid upon soundness of character than upon thoroughness of scholarship. His most immediate influence in this direction was exercised through his class teaching; but the whole discipline of the institution had an ethical basis.

"The requirement of a good moral character [was] a condition of graduation. The novelty was rather in the degree of the requirement than in its kind. Thus the habit of using profane language was considered a bar to graduation. I am not aware that there was anything peculiar in his method of discipline which was in general not unlike that in vogue in the older colleges, excepting that special cases of discipline were sometimes put into the hands of particular professors to be treated by them according to their judgment instead of being handled by the faculty as a body, or by the president; but such cases were rather rare. The probable cause of his influence over students was his strong and commanding personality, which could not but make a strong impression upon

young people who had never before been brought into intimate relations with so strong and vigorous a nature dominated by an intense ethical purpose."

The impressive quality of Mann's personality is further emphasized by William Jackson Armstrong [71:195] who was present at the time of his death:

"In his intellectual prime, which lasted till the last vital spark had passed from his exhausted frame, Horace Mann was in outward semblance, as in fact, an imposing personation of united culture and moral force. Nobility the most exalted and refined, approaching even the majestic, appeared in every line of his features and in every movement of his body. A fervid tribune of the people, at heart, no hereditary aristocrat ever wore a mien more courtly and impressive than his. His facility in mental achievement seemed the natural complement of his polished stateliness of person. Looking upon him, one might readily conceive him to have stepped from a portrait of the ancestral Medicis."

The power of Horace Mann to inspire is beautifully set forth in a letter [26:35] by Reverend Henry C. Badger, who was a student at Antioch during Mr. Mann's presidency:

"His mode of teaching was suggestive and stimulating; not so holding his flock to the dusty, travel-worn path as to forbid their free access to every inviting meadow or spring by the way. It was his wont to hear us recite a few hours each week, assigning special lessons to special pupils, giving each some question, some theory, some matter-of-fact inquiry, on which each could pursue investigations at leisure, and prepare a paper to be read before the whole class, and be commented upon by himself. The range of these topics (when political economy was the subject)—taking in questions of agriculture and soil-fertilization, of canals and railroads, of commerce,

of cotton-gins or steam-ploughs, of population, of schools and churches and public charities in their economic relations, and of those rising civilizations which bear up art and foster science, both necessitating and making possible greater civil and spiritual freedom, yet having their roots among these lower material conditions—illustrates the comprehensiveness of Mr. Mann's favorite methods of educating and instructing our minds.

"But even this was not so peculiar to him as a certain personal impulse he imparted to all who came in contact with him—the *impetus* with which his mind smote our minds, rousing us, and kindling a heat of enthusiasm, as it were, by very power of that spiritual percussion. It was in this that he was so incomparable. A man might as well hope to dwell near the sun unmoved as not to glow when brought to feel his fervid love of truth and heartfelt zeal in its quest. The fresh delight of childhood seemed miraculously prolonged through his life; truth never palled upon his mind; the world never wore a sickly light. And this cheerful spirit, which was at bottom nothing but the most living faith in God and man, was so contagious, that indifference, misanthropy, despair of attaining truth, gave way before it or were transformed into a like hearty enthusiasm.

"Then, in guiding the new-roused impulse, he was so conscientious and candid, so careful not to trench on the borders of individuality, nor to let our loving respect for him so fix our eyes on his opinion that we should lose the beckon of some proximate truth, that we felt him as gentle to guide as he was powerful to inspire."

How Horace Mann and his ideals impressed a young woman of the time is set forth by Mrs. A. H. Tufts in *The Antiochian*, May 1887 [165:47]:

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"My father was a farmer among the hills of southern Ohio where little attention was given to education unless it could help to answer the question as to what shall we eat and wherewithal be clothed. But one day I chanced to read in the New York *Tribune* a lecture delivered by Horace Mann on coeducation at Antioch College and I immediately became anxious to patronize that school, the first college of which I had ever heard where a sister could climb the hill of science hand in hand with her brother. In the fall of 1855 I got on board the first train of cars I ever saw to come to Antioch. I only expected to remain one year but catching inspiration from the great educator, soon enrolled for a 6-year course. . . .

"I recall a time when Mr. Mann had been absent in the interest of the college and during a talk to the students he said: 'Had I on my return home found the cellar beneath this building filled with gold, it would not have given me half the pleasure as did the report that during my absence there had been no instances of misconduct among the students.'

"Often on his return home as he walked up the aisle in his stately way amid brilliant cheers, the students would manifest their pride by remarks similar to the following: 'Of all the great men who visit Antioch [and they were not a few] none are so great as our president.'

"One Sabbath evening at Mr. Mann's usual Bible-class meeting, a disputed question arose and after giving the opinions of several noted persons, someone said, 'But President Mann, we wish to know your opinion,' when he quietly replied, 'Choose for yourselves.'

"At the same meetings we often had such teachings as the following: 'Pride and envy never increase your talent or improve your appearance.' 'Never appear to see a personal defect that you can in no way relieve.' 'Never see one's ragged



*Falling waters from the Yellow Spring*

clothing unless you can help to replace it with better.' 'If sorry for the injury done you be as ready to forgive one stronger and wiser than yourself as the one weaker and more ignorant.' 'So live that when old age comes upon you, you will have no weight but the weight of years to bear.' "

Horace Mann's deep respect for human nature is emphasized in his statement on "The Dignity of Man":

"Man is not a savage or a pauper by the inexorable fatality of his nature. He is surrounded with every form of the truest and noblest wealth—wealth, or wellbeing, for the body, wealth for the mind, wealth for the heart. He is not of plebeian origin, but his lineage is from God; and when he asserts and exemplifies the dignity of his nature, royal and patrician titles shrink into nothingness . . . . The laws of nature and of God doom no man to live on a potato a day; but the productive powers of the earth are as much beyond all the demands of healthful sustenance as the volume of the atmosphere . . . is beyond the capacity of human lungs. Men were not created to live in wigwams nor sties; but to rise up and to lie down in dwellings of comfort and elegance. Men were not created . . . for almshouses and the gallows, but for competence, and freedom, and virtue; not for thoughtless puerilities and vanities, but for dignity and honor, for joy unspeakable and full of glory." [14:123]

His ideal of the teacher's opportunity he set forth:

"To save a considerable portion of the rising generation from falling back into the condition of half-civilized or savage life, what other instrumentality does society afford than to send into every obscure and hidden district in the state a young man or a young woman whose education is sound; whose language is well-selected; whose pronunciation and tones of voice are correct and attractive; whose manners

are gentle and refined; all of whose topics of conversation are elevating and instructive; whose benignity of heart is constantly manifested in acts of civility, courtesy, and kindness; and who spreads a nameless charm over whatever circle may be entered. Such a person should the teacher of every common school be." [66:134]

The best measure of a man is the difference he makes in the lives of others. Weighed by this standard, Horace Mann ranks with the heroes of all time. He was a great teacher. Of him it may be said:

The teacher is a prophet.

He lays the foundations of tomorrow.

The teacher is an artist.

He works with the precious clay of unfolding personality.

The teacher is a builder.

He works with the higher and finer values of civilization.

The teacher is a friend.

His heart responds to the faith and devotion of his students.

The teacher is a citizen.

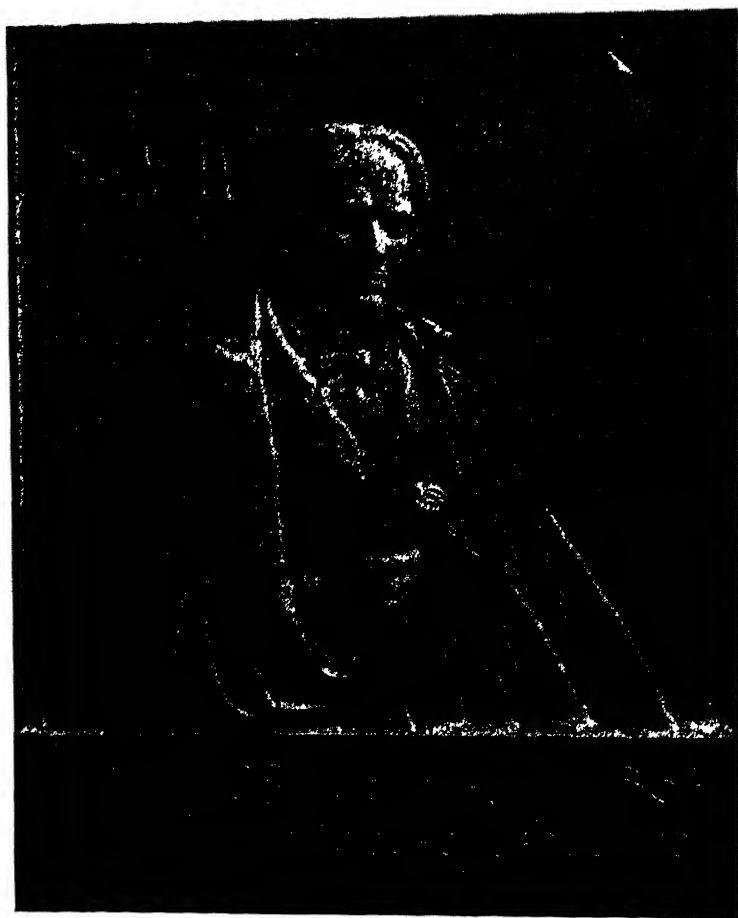
He is selected and licensed for the improvement of society.

The teacher is a pioneer.

He is always attempting the impossible and winning out.

The teacher is a believer.

He has abiding faith in the improvability of the race.



*Courtesy, Caproni Galleries*

#### THE HORACE MANN MEMORIAL RELIEF

*By the noted American sculptor, Lorado Taft, to commemorate the 1937 centennial of Horace Mann's entrance into the field of education*

## CHAPTER V

### As When A Lordly Cedar

*"And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down  
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,  
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,  
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky."*

THE influence of Horace Mann belongs to the ages. The educational movement which he led may in the perspective of history be recognized as no less significant than the Renaissance or the Reformation for it had in it the elements of both. That movement has gone forward for a century until the common school has become the dominant public architecture in America; teacher preparation is reaching new heights; highschools enrol seven million students; colleges are open to all; and the American pattern is profoundly influencing awakening peoples throughout the world.

Physically Horace Mann was never strong, unless one counts as strength the power to hold on through sheer force of will and purpose. The fact that his father died from tuberculosis when Horace was but a boy of thirteen, suggests that the hard New England life had weakened the paternal stock. The delicate emotional balance evident in the boyhood years suggests that Horace then had no great physical reserve. Such health as he did possess was undermined by the over strenuous efforts at higher education and the tragedies that came one after another into his life. It is paradoxical that a man who emphasized so vigorously the moral obliga-

tion to obey the laws of life; who introduced physiology and hygiene into the schools of Massachusetts; and who at Antioch introduced those subjects for the first time into the college course, should have been so careless of his own strength. There are many possible explanations. Evidently the habit of overexertion had become fixed upon him by necessity in his earlier years. His dreams of doing good were so great that he constantly overestimated his strength. Once caught in the stream of action, opportunity, and circumstance, it seemed impossible to save himself. Another possibility is that considering his meager physical endowment, the responsibility he carried, and his immense labors, Horace Mann did develop great skill in the care of his body, and that if he had not done so his life would have been much shorter and less effective than it was. This view is supported by Austin Craig's letter [50:204] to the *Christian Herald and Messenger*, written soon after Mann's death. Craig had lived in the Mann household at Antioch "one college year and a considerable portion of another." He wrote: "To many young persons, Horace Mann seemed a realization of lofty manliness and of loyalty to the laws of God. With him everything was subservient to morality. *He had made a duty of his health. Nothing but that enabled him to wear so long and to do so much.*" And finally he came to feel as many another has done that to spend and be spent in a great cause is a sort of higher law of sacrifice and duty which sometimes calls for the complete subordination of self to the loftier purpose. And who shall say that in that he was not right for

*"We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths;  
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.*

*We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives  
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best."*

In the months preceding his death, Horace Mann had called upon every resource of mind and body to meet the crisis in the financial affairs of Antioch College which had come to a head during the month of April. With the approach of the 1859 commencement, it was still uncertain whether the college could reopen in the fall. Heroic efforts of President Mann and other friends of the college combined to save it. After weeks of weary toil, President Mann sat down early in the morning of commencement day to finish the never-to-be-forgotten Baccalaureate Address which he was to deliver to the class. The exercises of the day lasted from early morning until seven that night, and at their conclusion friends came to his house for a social gathering in the evening. The next day he was prostrated with fever and exhaustion, an illness which grew steadily worse during the long hot summer.

Horace Mann died in the President's House at Antioch College, August 2, 1859, at the age of sixty-three years. B. A. Hinsdale in his biography of Horace Mann [45:264-65], says:

"He died a martyr to Antioch College; and, next to his own spirit, the most beautiful thing in the story is the devotion of his students to him while he lived and to his memory when he was dead. He was first buried in the College grounds, but the next year his remains were removed to Providence, Rhode Island, and interred beside those of his first wife.

"The tributes that Mr. Mann's death called out constitute a literature by themselves. They came from all intelligent classes, but particularly students and teachers, philanthropists, and statesmen. He was mourned by the friends of temperance, the opponents of slavery, and the advocates of moral reform, as well as teachers and educators. Charles Sumner wrote to Theodore Parker from Europe: 'You will mourn

Horace Mann; he has done much; but I wish he had lived to enjoy the fruits of his noble toils. He never should have left Massachusetts. His last years would have been happier and more influential had he stayed at home. His portrait ought to be in every public school in the state, and his statue in the State House.' Sumner's two prayers have both been answered in spirit. Mann's portrait hangs in thousands of Massachusetts schoolrooms, and a statue of him, erected by his friends and admirers, together with the school children of the state, stands in front of the State House in Boston."

Before coming to the inspiring last hours and to the statements made by contemporaries following Horace Mann's death, let us turn for a moment to the part which Horace Mann has yet to play among us—a part far greater than his achievements while on earth for the movement has become more important than the man who is its symbol.

There is a close parallelism between Horace Mann's day and ours. The country was then in the depths of a depression. The people were paying the price of war, greed, indifference, vice, and corruption—as they are now. Powerful leaders openly doubted the capacity of the people to rule and talked of other forms of government, as they do now. Fear and confusion were everywhere. Then as now, conditions in other countries were uncertain. Then as now, rapid social-economic changes were creating the need for an enrichment and expansion of education for which neither the public nor the teachers were prepared. Then as now, people felt the need for a revival of the spirit of reform and for rededication to freedom and the rule of the people.

Because of this parallelism, the life of Horace Mann is not only inspiring; it is immensely and immediately useful. Although Horace Mann started out as a lawyer, statesman, and

humanitarian, he made himself a schoolmaster in the highest sense. He gave sustained study to every phase of child growth and school management. He set standards for progressiveness which have not even yet been attained. His sense of values was remarkably true. Above all he understood the relation between the school and our democratic civilization.

By studying his life as a whole and reading his addresses and writings, we get a perspective and a basis for comparison which we all need. Even his human weaknesses and failures teach us lessons, for we too must meet them in ourselves. Looking at his labors against the background of a century, we can see how amazingly fruitful they were. There are more people today in our American highschools than the total population of the nation in Horace Mann's boyhood.

The teaching profession needs a common mind and to achieve that mind it needs a common classic. For teachers in a democracy that classic is found in the life and writings of Horace Mann. These should be the heart of the library of every teacher. They are a corrective for our overspecialization, a safeguard against discouragement, a guide to our labors, a source of inspiration.

The people in our democracy likewise need a common mind in their understanding of education. They need to take a deeper interest in their children and in the improvement of their own lives, that they may be fully equal to the demands of freedom and democratic civilization. The life of Horace Mann appeals especially to laymen. During his lifetime his writings circulated around the world. He talked and wrote for the people. His writings are part of our American cultural heritage—worthy to be studied in every school and college for their nobility of thought, their beauty of expression, and their concern over the fundamental values of life. It is

well to establish the practice of teaching the school in the school so that young people will receive as a part of their preparation for citizenship a knowledge of the history, purposes, and achievements of the institution by which democracy maintains intelligence and freedom. Every American school child should understand that Horace Mann ranks with Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln as one of the greatest builders of America.

The best account of Horace Mann's last days is given by Mary Mann in her biography [58:546-53]:

"It has already been said that the three months previous to this meeting of the trustees, which caused such an unwonted excitement of feeling, had been a period of extraordinary toil as well as anxiety. Two of the professors were still absent; one ill, the other preaching for his daily bread. The whole care of the graduating class was left upon Mr. Mann's hands. They wanted subjects for their graduating exercises; they wanted criticisms upon their productions.

"No members were chosen from the class, as in other colleges, to receive special honors; but as many speakers as the time would allow took part, and all who chose to prepare had equal claims to attention. Many of them were very far from home or from any other literary aid; and Mr. Mann attended to them all. Unfortunately, all his children were ill, one at a great distance, the other two at home, requiring constant care and attendance: therefore he was not only left unwatched, when, as it afterward proved, he most needed watching, but he was anxiously watching others. On the appointed day of public exercises and jubilation, he sat down early in the morning to finish the Baccalaureate, which he had hastily prepared for the occasion and which he carried to chapel without having had time to read it over himself.

"He could not preside over such a scene unmoved. He knew all that had been hoped, dreaded, and suffered by many. He would fain have been silent with his joy and have found his rest in it. But no: he must be the most active participant in the common rejoicing, after so many weary days and restless nights. He was described to the invalids at home as looking 'too happy, but very tired.' The festivities of the day, commencing at seven in the morning, lasted twelve hours; and the public adjourned in heavy numbers from the college-dinner to his house, where a crowded *levée* was held till late at night.

"The next day he was nearly speechless with fatigue; but instead of being laid quietly away in a darkened chamber, and all sounds shut out, an important committee meeting was pending which lasted substantially two days longer. It was feared that paralysis would follow such a strain as this had been; but instead of that a burning fever raged in his veins, which there seemed not then coolness enough on earth to assuage; and sleep, his only restorative, was no more for him in this world. He struggled with it several weeks, fighting it at every step, instead of yielding to it—not consciously perhaps, not deliberately, but feverishly. The weather was intensely hot. The very soil was turned into burning sand. Only hot winds blew. He roamed about the house, extending himself, now on the sofa, now on the floors, praying for rain, mourning over the time he was losing for preparation of duties to come, but conscious only of suffering, not of near death. How could such vitality cease? Ill as he was, he did not resign himself a prisoner to his apartment but three days; and, when he could no longer rise, he saw grouped before him the things to be done. . . .

"Nature began to give way more perceptibly. At last he begged for profound silence, 'except George's humming: do



*This venerable sugar maple tree on the  
Horace Mann Farm has been specially marked  
in Horace Mann's last will and testament.*



not stop that.' He loved music from the human voice; it soothed and diverted his busy and fevered thoughts from affairs. But he could not listen to words even when sung: they wakened too many associations. One day, while thus soothed, he heard drops fall thick and fast upon the tin roof of the piazza. It was a month since a rain drop had fallen. He said, 'Stop a moment, and let me listen to that music!'—'It is heavenly music,' one replied. 'Yes!' he said very emphatically; and after a long pause, during which his countenance beamed with a delighted smile, as he listened to a copious shower, he whispered, 'I am making agricultural calculations: I cannot help it.' The rain did not last long, and then he wanted the earthly strain again.

"For many days, no food passed his lips but a little strained gooseberry-juice. He could not swallow a drop of water without pain: but relays of devoted students brought him fresh draughts every hour from the only cool well in the neighborhood; and the only physical pleasure left to him was rinsing his mouth with it, and letting it 'percolate over his lips.' It seemed strange that no special revelation occurred to show what would quench such internal fires as consumed him. He had no confidence in any medical treatment that was at hand, and his brain was morbidly active upon the subject; but when told that he must resign all care, even of himself, he tried to obey. At last a flash of lightning pain passed over him, which, he was sure, had disorganized his very substance. It was too true. But, after the rest of his frame could suffer no more, the brain continued preternaturally active for two days; and all his former life passed in review before him—its joys, its sorrows, and its trials.

"Loving and devoted students had watched over him and his sick children all the nights of many weeks. Where so

many served lovingly, no one can be mentioned with prominence, without doing injustice to others. But the Reverend Mr. Fay, upon whom the coming calamity was already doing fearful work, allowed himself neither sleep nor respite; forgetting that he, too, was mortal. To no other individual out of his own family did the death of Mr. Mann so alter the world. Indeed, such was the effect of his inconsolable grief and anxious watching, that his own health, both of body and mind, was long after hanging upon a thread; and even now he shrinks from a review of those painful hours of alternate hope and dread. If the imparting of his own vitality would have availed to snatch his friend from his doom, he could not have given it more freely; but not even his assiduous magnetism could meet the case. All arts of man seemed unavailing.

"Dr. Pulte arrived the evening before the last day. He gave but faint hope. Mr. Mann had not expected him; and, when he went to his bedside, he looked at him penetratingly, and begged him to let him feel his head, which he playfully examined with his hands, in his own sprightly way pronouncing it good and able, and then resigned himself to the examination. Dr. Pulte did not express his fears to him, but was obliged to return immediately to Cincinnati, after giving directions for a last attempt to save him.

"The next morning, after a restless and troubled night, he begged for quiet in earnest but gentle words.

"'Let the college gate be fastened open, that I may not hear it swing; let there be no step, no rustling dress, no face, but your own; communicate with others, not by words, but by slips of paper. Let me rest.'

"All was hushed for a little while. But he could not sleep. Could such a man be allowed to die unawares? Pain was

soothed: he was evidently unconscious that his hours were numbered.

"When he was told, he opened his eyes quickly; but his countenance only changed to an illuminated expression, that made it difficult not to rejoice with him that he was soon to tread the glorious path which so often kindled his imagination, instead of the thorny one of this world.

" 'Ask Dr. C— how long,' he said.

" 'Three hours at most,' was the answer.

" 'I do not feel it to be so,' he replied; 'but, if it is so, I have something to say. Send for B——' (a student who had given much anxiety). The head which had long been covered with the damps of death became hot as a cannon-ball as he roused himself. After speaking a few tender words to his family, he turned to the young man as he entered the room, followed by others who had heard the sad rumor, till the apartment was filled with people, some of whom, in the fashion of that country, were strangers. He spoke earnestly to his young friend, and called one after another of his students and his friends to him, and for two hours poured forth his great heart and soul in inspired words, with a depth of voice, and vigor of muscle, wonderful to behold in one lately prostrate.

"Many saw duty in a new light as he again and again uttered the words, 'Man, Duty, God!' and prefigured by his appeals to them what they might do with such powers as he described them to possess. But no repetition of his words can convey the fervor of his spirit, the tenderness of his love, as expressed to all around him.

"At last he said to Mr. Fay, 'I should like to have Mr. Fay make a short prayer, low, peaceful, grateful!' after which he again addressed those who stood round him, and sent affectionate messages to the absent—to his son, to his sister, to

Mr. Craig, and to other old friends. Prominent among those he remembered was Professor Cary.

“‘Dear Cary!—solid, steadfast, well-balanced, always wise, always right, always firm—tell him how much I loved him!’ And again he murmured, ‘Good, reliable, judicious, firm, gentle, beautiful Mr. Cary!’ his voice gaining energy again as he went on. ‘And those good young men, Mr. Fay, who have always done their duty—how I love them! Tell them how I love them. No words can express how I love them!’

“When asked if he was not exhausting himself, he said, ‘No: it rests me.’

“More than once he exclaimed, ‘Oh, my beautiful plans for the college! I meant that Mr. Fay should prepare himself to be the president of this college; for I know no man living who will take it, who will carry it on as well as he.’ To Mr. Fay, who did not hear this, he said, ‘Preach God’s laws, Mr. Fay; *preach them*, PREACH THEM!’—his voice rising each time he repeated the words, his trembling arm raised aloft as if to invoke Heaven’s blessing upon him, his whole frame quivering with emotion. ‘You have more power over the public mind of the West than any man I know,’ he added after a pause. Then most energetically he repeated his entreaty that he would use it; for the world needed it.

“‘O God! may he preach them till the light drive out the darkness!’

“To his children he said, ‘When you wish to know what to do, ask yourselves what Christ would have done in the same circumstances.’

“It is impossible to record all his words, uttered in a clear, musical voice, that rang out strong as in his best days, now to his family, now to his students, now in memory of the absent. At last he again asked for quiet, and thought he could

sleep. Motioning gently with his hand, he said, 'Will not the friends fall back?' He wanted air and repose; but the crowd inconsiderately lingered, rendering the close of his noble life a struggle for breath instead of a peaceful slumber. He could not even speak to his much-loved nephew, Mr. Pennell, who arrived at that moment.

"The chills of death shook him painfully; and he asked for blankets, which were heated and wrapped round him. Stimulants were administered, which brought no relief, but gave him temporary delirium, in which he uttered exclamations that showed how deeply he felt, and how keenly he remembered, some of the heart-trials that had been instrumental in cutting him off thus prematurely.

"The strong brain found it hard to die. At last, God mercifully gave him rest; but 'death' is not the word for such a translation.

"It was on the 2d of August, 1859, that he left us; and his earthly form now reposes in the North Burial-ground of the city of Providence, where his family and friends have erected a monument modelled after the beautiful 'Obelisk of the Vatican.'"

To understand the closing scene of Horace Mann's life, it is necessary to know the great importance which at that time was attached to one's last words before death and also the custom then prevalent in rural districts by which on the expectation of death, friends and neighbors and even strangers gathered in the home and at the bedside to give such help and comfort as they could. The following account of the scene was written by William Jackson Armstrong [71:204]:

"It was the summer vacation. On a day in early August the end came. It was the fortune of the writer of the present sketch, as a student in the college under this great man's

administration, to be a sharer in the parting scene. The President seemed unconscious of his state. He was gently told of the near approach of death. His features changed only to a look of serene exaltation. 'Ask the doctor how long,' he said. 'Three hours at most,' he was told. 'I have then something to do,' he answered. He was admonished that any agitation would measurably shorten his brief tenure of life. He indicated his indifference and requested that his students lingering in the village should be called. A group gathered by the low couch near the window, open to the summer. Half rising at moments from his pillows, he took each one in succession by the hand and familiarly calling the names of his student friends, in a tone ringing, musical and clear as in his most vital efforts from the college platform, he addressed to them, according to the needs and personality of each, a series of discourses as exalted and glowing as ever were utterances from human lips. Such was the impression of those who were privileged to hear, and such it has remained, through the more than two score years, with the still living witnesses of that hour. The historic scene that was then recalled was the death of Socrates in the prison chamber at Athens. But this death was more and greater. The Athenian philosopher in the presence of the unknown, with the pardonable egoism of nature, associated his own personality with his discourse on the expectations of continued existence. Sublimely unconscious, or forgetful, of his own share in the scheme of the future, the American teacher spoke no word of himself, but employed his latest thoughts and breath with the welfare and encouragement of the living—the duties that prepare for all existence. The grandeur of his life lifted him without a break to the order of eternity. His vitality perceptibly foreshortened by hours from the energy of his ef-

forts, he dropped back and lay before us in death, serene in aspect as if in a summer dream."

Albert E. Winship—one of America's most noted educational editors and lecturers, who through a life of more than eighty-seven years carried on the Horace Mann tradition—had a lecture on Horace Mann which he delivered many times, and which still lingers in the memories of older school people. The lecture closed with the famous scene in which Horace Mann urged his friends and neighbors to lives of usefulness and duty. "And then," said Winship who had known Horace Mann personally, "one of the sweetest souls that ever graced this earth went to its Maker."

In keeping with the purpose of this book to enable the reader to study Horace Mann from contemporary and original sources, we close this chapter and section with quotations from a report of Horace Mann's death and with the tribute given at his funeral by his friend and associate—Reverend Eli Fay.

### Death of Honorable Horace Mann

*The following is from an account of Horace Mann's death which appeared in THE CHRISTIAN PALLADIUM for August 20, 1859 [105:248-53]. This weekly magazine, published in New York City, was the organ of the Christian church in America.*

Just after we had gone to press with our last issue, several of our daily exchanges brought us telegraphic despatches of the death of Horace Mann, which took place at his residence in Yellow Springs, Ohio, on the 2d inst., at half-past four o'clock P.M. We have not learned the particulars relating to his sickness and death and can, therefore, only announce the fact.

His removal from his position as president of Antioch College will be regarded as a great calamity to the cause of education, and especially so by the Christian body, whose interests he had undertaken in superintending the highest school ever established by the denomination. It was his sympathy with us which led him into this important field of mental labor, and in his untiring perseverance he has breasted the storm against wind and tide and, as a helmsman of incomparable skill, he has raised the educational and moral tone of the College to a height that might be envied by the older institutions in our country. While this affliction strikes us almost speechless and nearly unmans us for the imperative duties of our calling, we humbly kiss the rod and most sincerely thank God that he was spared to us, as a people, until Antioch was moored in a harbor of safety. Without his influence and the hope of his continued existence and connection with the College, she would have stranded all that we had hoped for the rising generation, for her influence would have been engulfed in the ocean of despair.

Mr. Mann has left the impress of his exalted ideas, mind, and manhood upon the age to such an extent, that hundreds of generations cannot wipe it out. The whole country mourns and feels that a great light has been put out, or withdrawn from this to another and nobler sphere of action, to which his purity of heart and uprightness of life so justly entitles him.

The New York State Teachers' Association in session at Poughkeepsie on the 3d inst., opened by an announcement of the death of Mr. Mann. Professor Davies, of New York, spoke in strains of melting eloquence of Mr. Mann's labors in the cause of education. He remarked that "Mr. Mann had sometimes been in advance of his age; hence, he should not

be judged by the opinions of those who did not appreciate his character." Professor Davies closed by offering the following resolutions, which were adopted:

"Resolved, That the Association entertains a profound respect for the life and labors of Horace Mann as an educator and friend of education; and that they deeply sympathize with his bereaved family;

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the family of the deceased."

Miss Susan B. Anthony followed. She said, "I cannot sit in silence when such an announcement is made—that Horace Mann is no more; and when we remember that he was the first, and ever continued 'an earnest advocate of woman's educational development. He has established a college, where woman can pursue her education and graduate side by side with man and with equal honors, and more than this has he accomplished in her behalf—a woman has been chosen a professor, side by side with the male professors. He was a man not only in name, but in soul. With him the ruling principle was that every person that possessed a human soul should be educated."

Mr. Greenleaf of Brooklyn, knew Horace Mann during his early educational labors in Massachusetts. He believed there is not a district, there is not a school nor a village in all the Bay State where he has not made his mark and where he has not friends to mourn his departure.

This sad intelligence fell upon the assembly of teachers there with deep solemnity, and the eloquent and touching tributes were followed by an appropriate song by Messrs. Reed, Abbey, Chapman and Patterson.

On Saturday last, we received the following note from Dr. H. Leonardson of Yellow Springs, Ohio, which bears

date of the day of Mr. Mann's final departure. This is the only private intelligence we have received up to the time of going to press. "I presume you have heard ere this time, of President Mann's illness. He is today past hope of recovery and is taking leave of his friends, giving his dying charge to friends around, to students who are still in town, who were sent for by him to visit him, that he might speak once more to them. There is great excitement and deep sorrow here among his friends. He retains his senses well and his mind is perfectly clear."

We learn from our exchanges, that he had long been suffering from general debility and was confined to his chamber several weeks. A note to the editor of the *Cleveland Herald*, bearing the same date of Dr. Leonardson's, briefly describes his last parting with his family and friends:—"Horace Mann is dying. He knows he is going and knows the hour is near. He is conscious of everything going on around him and feels perfectly resigned to his doom. He has called his family, his students and his friends to his bedside, and has given them all fatherly advice and a dying blessing. He is sinking rapidly and will, no doubt, be in the Land of Shadows, ere the setting of the sun."

At the meeting of the Committee for the revision of the Statutes of Massachusetts, on the 3d inst., Mr. Upham of Salem presented the following resolutions, accompanied by a few interesting and feeling remarks:

"Resolved, That the name of the late Horace Mann is indelibly stamped on the legislative history and policy of this commonwealth; that, as the first Secretary of the Board of Education in this state, he gave the public schools an impulse that still continues and will never cease to advance their condition and extend their beneficial influence; and

that for his service in this cause, his name will be enrolled in all-coming time among the greatest benefactors of the people.

“Resolved, That a copy of these resolves, signed by the Chairman and Secretary of this Committee, be transmitted to the family of the deceased.”

From New Brunswick to Oregon, this sudden event has cast a shade of gloom. Popular feeling instinctively records the decease of not only a *great*, but also a *good* man. The press exhibits a singular coincidence of opinion in regard to his sterling integrity, inflexible honesty, and unflinching rectitude. Although each admirer and editor concurs in his talent of unequalled sarcasm, none assert that it was ever employed except on proper occasions . . . .

Professor Moses Stuart of Andover, New Hampshire, expressed the opinion of many of Mr. Mann’s opponents, when he said: “The flowing ardor and eloquence of his compositions, the intense love of liberty with which he is inspired, the humanity by which he is actuated, the fine, scholar-like accomplishments which he exhibits, all command my respect and admiration. Whether his judgment and prudence are equal to his ardor and his energy, is another question.”

It is certainly a verity that “Great men, like their inferiors, have their failings”; and occasionally these are great; but, from our brief but happy acquaintance with Mr. Mann, we incline to the opinion that but few men are as well-balanced in intellect as was Mr. Mann. His morality was certainly practically unexceptionable. His benevolence was unbounded. His judgment exceeded that usually accorded to men in his station. His domestic relations were felicitous. His escutcheon was without a stain. There was not a man in the Union superior to him in these respects . . . .

His religious convictions were deep and strong, and his fearless and well-supported advocacy of his liberal opinions gained him a host of theological friends, and excited even the admiration of those whose religious tenets stood in opposition to his views. He deeply sympathized with the Christian Denomination and was a member of the Christian Church at Yellow Springs. . . . [Then follows an account of Horace Mann's life]

Mr. Mann's manners were graceful and engaging, and he was an orator by nature. His appearance was striking—his tall and slender figure, benevolent and expressive face, and silvery gray hair, combined to make him a man of mark.

The *New York Times* says: "Mr. Mann's permanent place in the annals of American biography will be high among those who have devoted themselves to the task of leaving the world better than they found it. He had all the faults of a vigorous, passionately emphatic character, and with those faults its virtues too. It is to him more than to any other single person that the primary school organization of the United States owes its best features; and to him that we are indebted most largely for the triumphant materialization in America of the invaluable system of Normal Academies for the training of teachers. He was in truth, after a sort, the Apostle of skilled education on this side of the Atlantic. He possessed fine natural powers of oratory, and was not less impressive in the lecturer's desk by the simple energy of his eloquence, than convincing as an author by the masculine rhetoric of his ardent style."

His death is also an invaluable loss to our readers. Only a few weeks since, he informed us that after the College was established in a secure position, he would become a regular contributor to our columns and become a corresponding

editor, not only in name, but in practice. With his death, our fondest anticipations are no more. Every enlightened citizen in the Union will regret his decease, and remembering his numerous virtues and excellencies, drop their tear of grief upon the green mound enshrining the form of the illustrious deceased.

## Address at Horace Mann's Funeral

By REVEREND ELI FAY

*The following address given at Horace Mann's funeral by his dear friend and close associate, Reverend Eli Fay, is taken from THE CHRISTIAN PALLADIUM for September 3, 1859. [112:268-70]*

On many accounts, it does not seem fitting that I should take part in the services of this occasion. My relations to the deceased and to the enterprise which was so dear to him, have long been such that it would be a privilege to remain with those who are personally bereft, and mingle my tears with theirs, or, at least, to take my place with those who have so often listened to him, and as mourners that we shall hear his great words no more, or as a company smitten dumb by the fall of their leader whose presence always gave assurance, and whose words never failed to inspire confidence—be counseled and comforted by a masterspirit like himself. How can I speak of him, to whom more than to any other man, I have opened my whole heart and from whom more than from all other men I have received such advice and instruction as a wise father gives to his son!

Though I sustain a loss in common with the members of this whole community—with *all* who knew him—with the immediate friends of the Institution for which he poured out his life, yet mine is a peculiar loss which can never be re-

paired. To no other man can I ever stand in the same relations in which I stood to him and of which I feel the need all the more for having known him. And though each succeeding day will make my loss still more apparent, yet every day of my life I shall bless my God that I knew him. I must therefore be one of the mourners, though I stand before you to say a few words, and considering the relations in which I stand to some of you, that of pastor of the church of which he was a beloved member, and also that our dear friend, when the angels of light were beckoning him to his Heavenly home, gave a few words to me to be delivered to those whom he had loved with a father's love, it is perhaps proper that I should say a word. It must be of the estimation in which we held him.

In his peculiar sphere—in the specialty to which he gave eighteen years with such devotion as few men ever consecrate themselves to any cause, the name of Horace Mann stood far above all others in this country. As a statesman, the nation felt his influence, and it was always on the right side of all moral questions. But he very soon saw that the Legislator could do far less for his country than the Educator—that it was utterly vain to hope that men uneducated, or wrongly educated, would or could protect and multiply the free institutions of our land. He clearly saw that legislation in a free government can never be made effective until its young men are educated to *selfgovernment*. He therefore told me more than seven years ago, while yet a member of Congress, when the proposition was made to him to become the President of this College, that his “political career would close with that term.” And I never can forget how his eye flashed with more than its wonted fire and his whole frame dilated, as he gave me the only reply to the proposition which he thought it prudent

to give on so short a notice, "I have concluded," said he, "if I have any special mission, it is to the young men and women of this country."

With that conviction he ultimately accepted our proposition, and came to this place with such a sacrifice of all that was dear to one at his period of life—ease, social position, old friends, early associations and indeed the hard earnings of his earlier years—as no other man has ever made for our College. Though for fifty years a very fragile body had held his giant mind and generous heart, yet he has here endured privations and performed labors which many, stronger physically than he, would never have borne or even undertaken. And during the six years that he has been with us he has proved that his mission, his Heaven-appointed mission, was to the "young men and women of this country." He has uttered words and preached doctrines that will never be forgotten.

The thoughts which he has poured forth from this rostrum, some of them published and others we hope yet to be published, are the richest legacy ever bequeathed to the American youth. The colleges of our country had more to hope from him than from any other man. He was the first to proclaim that as a college diploma is a "card of introduction" to the best circles of society, no college has a right to graduate an immoral man.

With his own hand he planted this tree of knowledge and he has nurtured it with his prayers and tears. Oh! how repeatedly his whole frame trembled and his great heart throbbed, as he looked into these young faces and these sparkling eyes, from which he ever drew inspiration for all his themes, and delineated the beauty of God's laws and the divinity of obedience. He has reared his own monument, not

in perishable marble, but in these and other imperishable hearts and characters. We shall be reminded of him not only when we go through these halls, when we enter this Chapel where we have so often listened perfectly spell-bound by the masterly eloquence with which he discoursed of his great themes of life and duty—when this bell calls to labor in which he was never tardy—when we enter upon our new career as a College whose prosperity we hoped would be his joy for many years to come, but when we look at our own characters and find the flowers of temperance, sobriety, truth, benevolence, and all virtues, many of us must acknowledge that the seed was sown, or the plants cultivated by his hand.

For this kind of influence he was beginning to be known throughout the country. Well did Dr. Bellows say of him, "He has the power beyond that of any man we ever saw, or heard of, to arouse moral enthusiasm in the young." During his sickness, letters poured in upon him from young people in all sections, making inquiries and advising him that they wished to put themselves under his instruction and watchful care. And while we are singing his requiem, scores are making arrangements to be with the great Educator during the next year. His name alone has made our College and our town household words throughout the great West.

How can we spare him! Who will now give us the rallying cry? Who will lead our hosts to victory? God only knows. One of the brightest lights of the world has gone out. Much as we loved him I fear that we did not fully appreciate him. His deep interest for these students, what tongue can tell! What would he not have sacrificed for them? He gave himself, what more could he do?

When in his last Baccalaureate, he expressed a wish that he might enter another lifelong battle with ignorance, bigotry

and sin, and added those solemn and momentous words, "the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak," "the most that I can do is to infuse my spirit into your young and vigorous bodies," who of us thought his end was so near? What a prognosis was that of his approaching dissolution! How many intimations he gave us in that address that his strength was waning! Did he suspect that when the strain of college labor was taken off, there would be a general giving away of his whole system as it proved? From that day there was a rapid and steady decline till his spirit returned to God who gave it. The mortal to which we pay our last respects is here with us. The immortal is before the throne.

Though many of his friends, students, and neighbors, were present, it must ever be a cause of deep regret that the closing scene could be witnessed by no more. It was the last great triumph of a moral hero. Like a brave chieftain on the battlefield, who having received his death-wound, spends his expiring breath in giving counsel and cheer to his soldiers; so our brother, with all the electrical power and eloquence of former days, as if to rob death of strength enough to do an act which should fitly crown a life all full of noble deeds, and with words almost divine, counseled us to seek the truth as the only path to happiness and to God. He took his students in his arms and kissed them. He laid his hands on their heads and prayed to God to bless them. If doubt in reference to duty should arise, he entreated them to think how Christ would have acted under similar circumstances and take Him as their example. With one arm around their necks and the other pointing towards heaven, he urged them to consecrate themselves to God. "Oh," said he, "God sent you into a world just as good as he could make it, and filled it with good things of which you may take as many

as you please. Oh! be sure that you pervert not his mercies!" And said he to me, "*Tell those dear students who have always been good and obedient and reliable, that I cannot tell how much I love them; and tell those few thoughtless boys that I would die TEN THOUSAND DEATHS if I could convince them how beautiful and holy it is to learn God's laws and obey them. Now that I am dying I wish I could see them all and give them my parting blessing. Would they not heed my last words?*" and said he, "*Mr. Fay, preach it—preach it—in God's name, PREACH IT—it is beautiful, it is beautiful to know God in all his laws and to obey him.*"

Then he called his two boys who were at home, and commended them to their mother, and Jesus Christ as their religious pattern. He then composed himself, somewhat, and said, "I did want a few more glorious battles in the cause of truth and freedom and temperance, and peace; but if I must die now, the will of the Blessed God be done." Who of us who were present can forget how he extended his right arm, and raised his voice almost to its usual fullness of tone when in the very jaws of death, as he gave us those great watch-words of life—*Truth, Duty, Man, God.*

Then he asked that a "*cheerful, grateful prayer*" might be offered, during which he was as serene as if he had just awakened from pleasant dreams.

It was fitting that the closing scene of such a life should be full of divine majesty. His death was a complete illustration of the doctrine which he had so often and so earnestly preached to us, that "living is more solemn than dying." This is the great lesson which his life and death impress upon us.

Peace to his ashes. Peace to his memory. We will lay the loved form in the grave, and temper our grief with the reflection that his spirit is with the Father of all.

## Part II

HUGH TAYLOR BIRCH

Friend and Admirer of Horace Mann

THE SPIRIT of Horace Mann and of Hugh Taylor Birch is well described in the following quotation from THE PROPHET by Kahlil Gibran:

*"You have been told also that life is darkness, and in your weariness you echo what was said by the weary.*

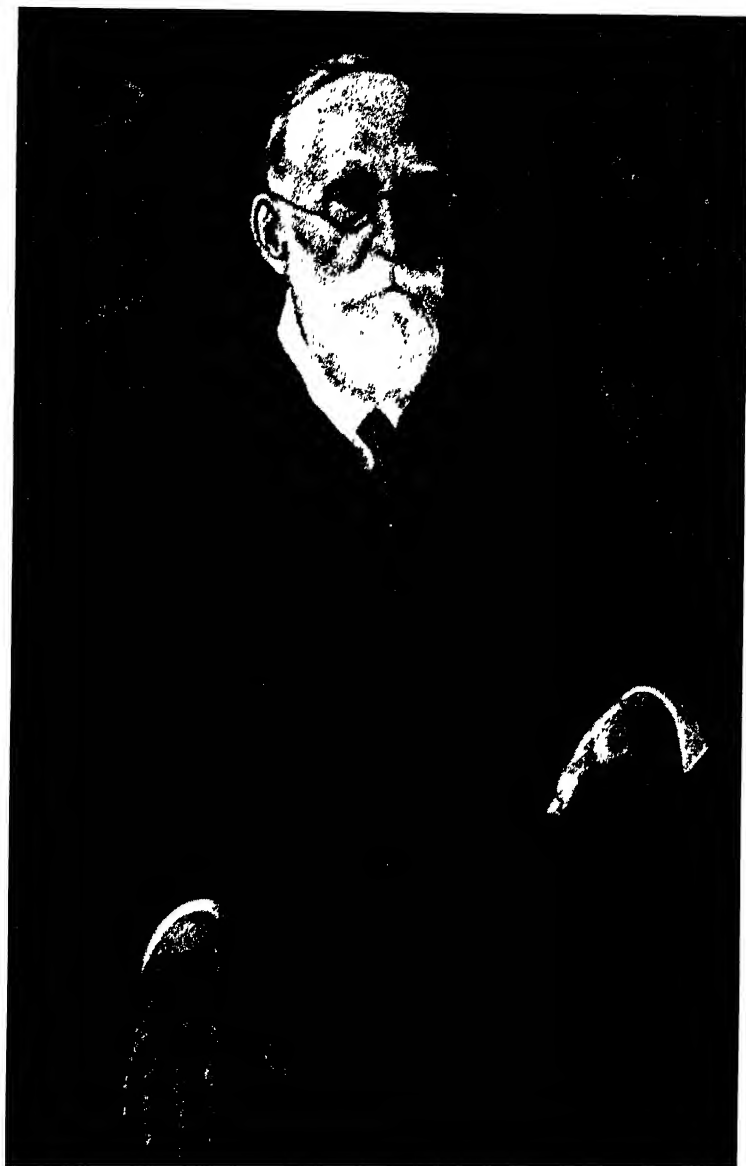
*And I say that life is indeed darkness save when there is urge,*

*And all urge is blind save when there is knowledge,*

*And all knowledge is vain save when there is work,*

*And all work is empty save when there is love;*

*And when you work with love you bind yourself to yourself, and to one another, and to God."*



HUGH TAYLOR BIRCH

*A recent portrait by Evelyn Bayliss*

## Hugh Taylor Birch

Friend and Admirer of Horace Mann

IT IS A striking coincidence that Horace Mann's dramatic death at Antioch should have fallen on the eleventh birthday of Hugh Taylor Birch, who had been the playmate of Benjamin Mann, and who has often testified that from his first meeting with the great educator there began an influence which has never ceased to shape his destiny. It is as though the great spirit of the inspiring teacher had been transferred by some mystic power into the life of the awakening selfhood of the pioneer boy. This influence can be understood when one takes into account the circumstances connected with it.

Erastus Mitchell Birch, the father of Hugh, had come to know and admire Horace Mann while they were both in the East—Horace Mann in Massachusetts and Birch in Dutchess County, New York. The noble mother—Sally Milligan Birch, for whom her son, Hugh, has given and named a park in Beverly, Massachusetts—had come from West Stockbridge in the Berkshire Hills of Massachusetts, the daughter of a dealer in marble. So the threads wound back and forth between New York and Massachusetts and when with the passage of years, Erastus Birch had cast his lot with the rapidly developing new West and had won a fortune in land, it was natural for Horace Mann to urge him to move his family to Yellow Springs, Ohio, where there would be educational opportunities for the children, then consisting, from the eldest to the youngest, of William, Phoebe Jane, George Haviland, Sally, John Milligan, and Hugh Taylor.

Hugh Birch tells how when Horace Mann first saw him as a barefoot boy on the streets of Yellow Springs, he stopped, reached down and took his hand, invited him to his home, and made him the playmate of his son Benjamin. From that first touch the growing boy felt the power of the inspired and inspiring leader. This feeling was intensified by the mutual respect and admiration of the two fathers. Erastus Mitchell Birch had helped Horace Mann and the College financially. The College catalogs beginning with the school year 1858-59 and continuing through the school year 1863-64, show him as a member of the Board of Trustees. He played an important part in the trying reorganization of 1859. The mother and sisters had become greatly attached to Horace Mann and it was Sally who held his hand as the dauntless spirit passed to its eternal reward after a death scene that for sheer inspiring drama has rarely been equaled. That scene with its uplifting personal messages to individual friends and students must have been much discussed in the Birch family circle during the months that followed.

Hugh Birch's purpose to be somebody and to do good was deepened as he grew older by intimate association with another great teacher, who was also an admirer of Horace Mann. There is no finer tribute to teachers and teaching than in the affection with which Hugh Birch speaks again and again of his great teachers—Horace Mann and Edward Orton. He says, "I never would have amounted to a hill of beans if I hadn't associated with the best teachers I could find."

Beginning with 1865-66 the Antioch College catalogs show Edward Orton principal of the preparatory department and the name of Hugh T. Birch heads the list of the "First Preparatory Class." In the catalog for 1866-67 he seems to have jumped over the second and third preparatory classes

for he leads the list of undergraduates. The next year he continues among the undergraduates. In the catalog for 1868-69 Hugh Taylor Birch is still listed among the undergraduates and Edward Orton has become in addition to principal of the preparatory school, professor of geology, zoology, and botany. Mr. Birch had hoped to graduate in 1869, but having undertaken too much found himself short in one study. In 1929, 60 years later, he was awarded his degree as of 1869. Without graduating, he went to Chicago to study in a law office carrying a letter of introduction from his friend and teacher, Edward Orton, to a man who had been a college classmate of the great geologist.

Hugh Birch is a born naturalist of the John Burroughs type. His intense love of nature was not fully understood by his father or by most of his companions who looked to more "practical" things. But in Edward Orton he found a wise and noble companion who on many a happy occasion shared his walks in woods and glens, consecrating by an abiding friendship natural beauties which later it was to be the privilege of Hugh Birch to present to Antioch College as a memorial to his beloved daughter, Helen. And thus the wonderful Antioch campus, Glen Helen, was born.

There was none of selfseeking in Edward Orton but the inherent nobility of the man could not be hid. He was called to the presidency of Antioch in 1872, "and such was the prosperity of the institution under his guidance that it was a real calamity when he left a year later to accept the presidency of the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College, from which the university has sprung; holding the chair of geology there at the same time. In 1881 he resigned the presidency but retained the chair of geology. In 1882 he was appointed State Geologist of Ohio." [70: 11-12]

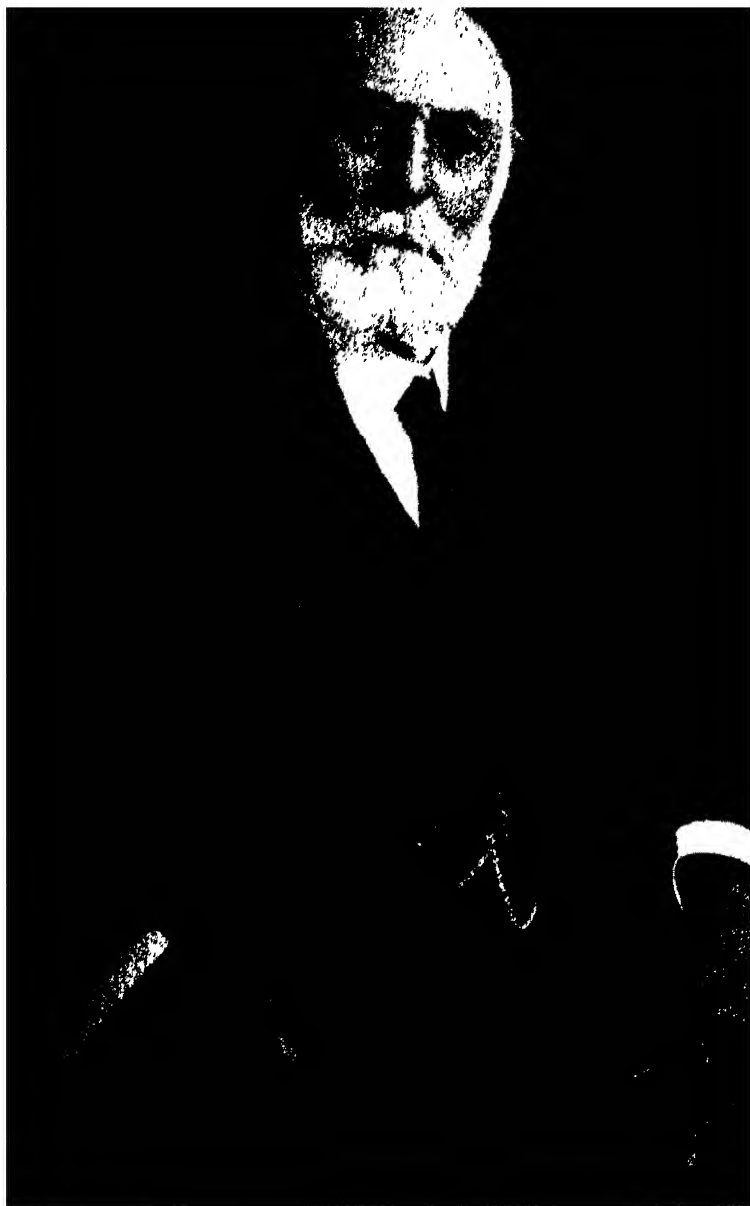
Edward Orton was a great geologist and had many honors in that field. He was a great university president. But his greatest service to the Republic was in his influence on the aspirations and character of the young. Says Hugh Birch, "In the affectionate companionship between us, he forgot that he was a teacher and I forgot that I was his pupil." What greater test of a teacher than that?

To Edward Orton as to Horace Mann, Hugh Birch has erected a monument. It is a substantial granite shaft, located in the John Bryan State Park adjacent to Glen Helen. This is a fitting location for to Bryan Park as to Antioch College. Hugh Birch has made substantial gifts of lovely wooded land, helping to round out its acres for the enjoyment of generations to come.

With these influences built into his life, it is not surprising that—after the death of his wife, Maria Root, and of his only living child Helen; after he had acquired a fortune in Chicago and in the development of land; after the flight of time had brought him to the sunset years—Hugh Birch should return to the land of his boyhood to build a home, Glen Helen House, and to work for Antioch College which had meant so much to him and to his father, mother, and sisters.

It was at Antioch College that I first met Mr. Birch on October 16, 1936, at the unveiling of the bronze statue of Horace Mann which he had given to the college. I described that event in *The Journal of the National Education Association* for December 1936 [145:269-76] from which the following address by Mr. Birch is taken:

"My good friends: It is a delight to see you here today. This is one of my happy days. I have lived long and have had many of them, but today is the culmination of them all. I want to say to you in a few words what may surprise you.



HUGH TAYLOR BIRCH: *An earlier portrait*

I knew Horace Mann. Eighty years ago this summer, I was coming up one of the streets of Yellow Springs and met Horace Mann face to face. He held out his hand to me and I reached up and took it. And I want you to remember that in that handshake, the small boy of nine years received a thrill that in all these eighty years which have passed since, has not left me.

"That is one reason I am here today. I had an inspiration from Horace Mann. As a boy I fell in love with him and in all the years and struggles since, I have never forgotten him.

"Horace Mann's soul is in this statue. I have brought it here for the benefit of the people of Ohio as well as the people of Antioch College. And I want it to inspire you, one and all, to some great deed in life, because Horace Mann believed in performance rather than in expression. He wanted everyone to be upright and honest and true.

"Five or six years ago, I came to Antioch a lone man. I had lost all my immediate family. The last one to go was my daughter, Helen. I found that Antioch did not have ownership of the property in front of it. The college had a few scattered acres, but there was no place for the students to walk and play and be near to nature, so I conceived the idea of giving them a campus as a memorial to my daughter Helen. That has been accomplished. They have a campus.

"I viewed Antioch College up and down, and it seemed to me that it needed an inspiration. All institutions should have an inspiration from a great source.

"After having been in Boston where I saw the original, I had the idea of bringing to Antioch where his spirit is still lingering, a statue of Horace Mann. With the help of my splendid son-in-law, Frederick Clay Bartlett, I got in touch with the great foundry in Munich, Germany, that originated

the first model of Horace Mann's statue, the one that is in Boston.

"We arranged to have the statue cast, and here it is today. I want you all to reverence it. I believe that Horace Mann will live again among you and his great spirit will give you life to go on and do great things in the world."

Mr. Birch then presented the statue [picture on page 85], which was accepted for the college by Homer C. Corry, secretary of the Board of Trustees.

I stopped again at Glen Helen House to see Mr. Birch in June 1937, and in the fall of that year through his generosity published the little volume *Go Forth and Teach*, containing Horace Mann's 1842 Fourth of July Oration. With Mrs. Morgan I spent two weeks with him on his Florida estate at Fort Lauderdale during January 1938; and now in May 1938, I am again at his home in the beautiful rolling country near Yellow Springs preparing this book. It has been a rare privilege to have this personal contact with the warm currents of his great life. At ninety years of age he is hale and hearty, full of fun and good cheer, abundantly happy in his devotion to Antioch College. His mind is clear and his memory remarkable, especially for the earlier events of his life. His purpose to perpetuate the teachings of Horace Mann is a bond between us and the delightful days pass rapidly.

As Mr. Homer C. Corry, Hugh Birch's lawyer and close friend, says: "What greater proof could one want of the nobility and greatness of Horace Mann than the simple inspiring life of this disciple who has never ceased to love and pay tribute to his boyhood friend and teacher—for Horace Mann was always a teacher even to those who were not in his classes." During these days when I have been dividing my time between companionship with Mr. Birch and reading

the writings of Horace Mann, I have been struck again and again by the close agreement between the teaching of the one and the life of the other. Mr. Corry, who knew while they were still alive others who had come under the personal influence of Horace Mann, remarks that they, too, had this beautiful simplicity and kindly nobility of spirit which are associated with the father of the American public school.

During the spring, summer, and fall, Mr. Birch lives in this sturdy brick house, cared for by two devoted housekeepers—Martha Schneider and Eliza Wispler—who accompany him to Florida for the winter. To drive his car and to aid him in his labors in the improvement of Glen Helen, he has a faithful son of ancient Sicily—Carmello Riccardi—who with his wife Mary and their daughters Mary, Hilda, and Josephine, live nearby in a cottage on the estate. In the education of these children, Hugh Birch takes close personal interest, sending them to the schools of Antioch beginning with the nursery school for the youngest. Mr. Birch brought "Carl" to Antioch from Beverly, Massachusetts, when he became attached to him while they were working in the woods of Sally Milligan Park which Hugh Birch gave to that city in honor of his mother.

During the winter Mr. Birch lives near Fort Lauderdale, Florida, at the home of Frederick C. Bartlett, an American artist who married his daughter Helen, and who since her death has married again. The Bartlett home with its lovely patio is by the sea in the midst of the vast estate to which Mr. Birch has returned winter after winter since 1893, developing it year by year with the labor of his own hands. He has cleared paths through the semitropical wilderness, planted coconuts by the thousand; laid out orchards of oranges, grapefruit, sapodillas, and other fruits; built a sea



*Childhood portrait of Helen Birch, daughter of  
Hugh Taylor Birch, for whom Glen Helen is named*

wall on his property along the inner channel—a waterway which runs near the sea from Norfolk, Virginia, to Key West, Florida. It is this habit of working daily with his hands whether in Wisconsin, where he formerly had a home near Lake Geneva, or in Massachusetts, or in Florida, that accounts for his remarkable health and vigor.

He has put years of his own physical labor into the improvement of Glen Helen. Other men have played golf for exercise. Hugh Birch wants his labor to count for others. He believes exercise should be useful so he plants trees, feeds the birds, lays out paths through the woods, cleans out springs, and makes beautiful lakes of living water. There is a personal ministry in his giving, a warm human affection that reaches beyond the generations, that says again and again, "This is what Horace Mann would have me do. This is my purpose in life. It is my joy and my strength. I will go into partnership with the good earth and the warm sun, and when my days here on earth have ended, these noble trees, this spacious glen, these pure springs and singing brooks, these silent places in the woods will speak to Antioch students of their Creator and help them to remember him in the days of their youth, and perhaps some of them will catch Horace Mann's masterful vision of life as I have tried to do and bear the torch forward to another day." I have known a dozen men as they reached upward to a century of life, remarkable men all of them, but never have I known a man as happy as Hugh Birch—serene in the deep consciousness of laboring in God's vineyard. To know Hugh Birch is to know Horace Mann, whose true disciple he is.

When a man reaches ninety years of age his sense of values is tempered by a vast accumulation of experience. There is unusual significance therefore in the sustained purpose which

dominates the patriarchal years of Hugh Taylor Birch and gives to his life a rare joy and radiance. Following our visit with him in January 1938, I wrote for *The Journal of the National Education Association* for March 1938, page A-45, this brief summary of the lessons of his life:

"To live eighty-nine years and still to be well, vigorous, happy, and useful is an achievement which in itself implies considerable wisdom in the art of living. Hugh T. Birch—friend of Horace Mann (see the December 1936 *Journal*, p269)—whom I visited in his Florida home in January—has earned this distinction. His way of living attaches importance to these things:

"The lasting influence of teachers who take a personal interest in forming the character of students—he speaks constantly of his two great teachers—Horace Mann and Edward Orton; the power of creative purpose and joy in life; daily exercise in sun and air; simple food and regular habits; the avoidance of crowds; simplicity and thriftiness; tolerance, goodwill, friendliness, humor, and faith; civic interest and the ideal of doing good; the love of flowers, trees, birds, and stars; faith in the improvability of man through education; the revitalizing power of the mild Florida climate and the sea in winter; the force of time in building up a personal estate and carrying out one's plans.

"A man of such vigor that he can bathe daily in the ocean at eighty-nine, perform hard physical labor, take an interest in young people, manage his own affairs, and go forward with plans that look far into the future, is like some great work of nature—a living proof of the immense forces which exist within the individual life. The great lesson which everyone needs to learn is to make the most of himself. It is a good practice for teachers to encourage young people to

talk with older people who have done well, in an effort to find the secrets of their achievement. Through this practice they will discover wisdom, learn to converse, and gather materials for their writing."

It is fitting to include this sketch of the life of Hugh Taylor Birch in the story of Horace Mann at Antioch for without it the account would not be complete. Hugh Birch is the living embodiment of all that Horace Mann stood for in character and citizenship. The lives of the two taken together afford an admirable example of the immortality of influence. Horace Mann was born on a farm near a Massachusetts village named after the great scholar, citizen, and statesman, Benjamin Franklin. The early years of his intellectual life were nourished on the library which Franklin, the real father of our library movement, gave that village. With young Benjamin Mann, the boy Hugh Birch played under the influence of the great father. The memory has grown and now after nearly a century Hugh Birch in his turn carries forward the work which Horace Mann began—his consuming passion to use his strength and his fortune to develop at Antioch the kind of college that Horace Mann dreamed of and died trying to create. And so the unending stream of beneficent influence flows on. And what nobler gift can any man leave to the great brotherhood of humanity than the abiding memory of men and women who have inspired their fellows with a higher appreciation of their own worth and destiny?

And what is Glen Helen? What is this priceless gift that belongs to the ages? It is a hilly and picturesque woodland of some eight hundred acres, including the Yellow Spring and two hundred other gushing waters scattered like pearls of the forest along the edges of a gorge four miles long



*Photograph by Russell B. Stewart*

*Mr. Birch at Horace Mann Lakes, May 1938*

through which flow the Yellow Springs Brook and the Little Miami River.

It is the extended campus of Antioch College, born of the eternal dream of human improvement; a college truly great in its history and in its aspiration for the future—potentially the most beautiful campus in America.

It is an everlasting memorial from a loving father to a beloved and talented daughter—earth's cares behind her, God's great peace before.

It is a memorial to America's pioneer educator-statesman—Horace Mann—father of the free common school, who came to Antioch to do for higher education what he had already done for its earlier levels.

It is the site of the Horace Mann statue by Emma Stebbins, cast in enduring bronze, and placed on a commanding hilltop by Hugh Taylor Birch who knew and loved Horace Mann in the flesh and who through all the years has held the inspiration of those early days.

It is the site of the Horace Mann Maple, towering monarch of the forest, preserved and marked by Mr. Birch in memory of him who loved all trees.

It is the site of the Horace Mann Lakes, wrought by the ingenious hand of Mr. Birch from the springs of a graceful hillside on the Horace Mann Farm.

It is a place of wooded paths and leafy lanes where companionship, romance, and the beauty and grandeur of nature are blended.

It is the work of a prophet returned to the land of his boyhood and his awakening; a veteran in whose mind is the wisdom of ninety seasons; and whose strong heart holds the joy of ninety springtimes.

It is a symbol of man's love and of God's love; cherished;

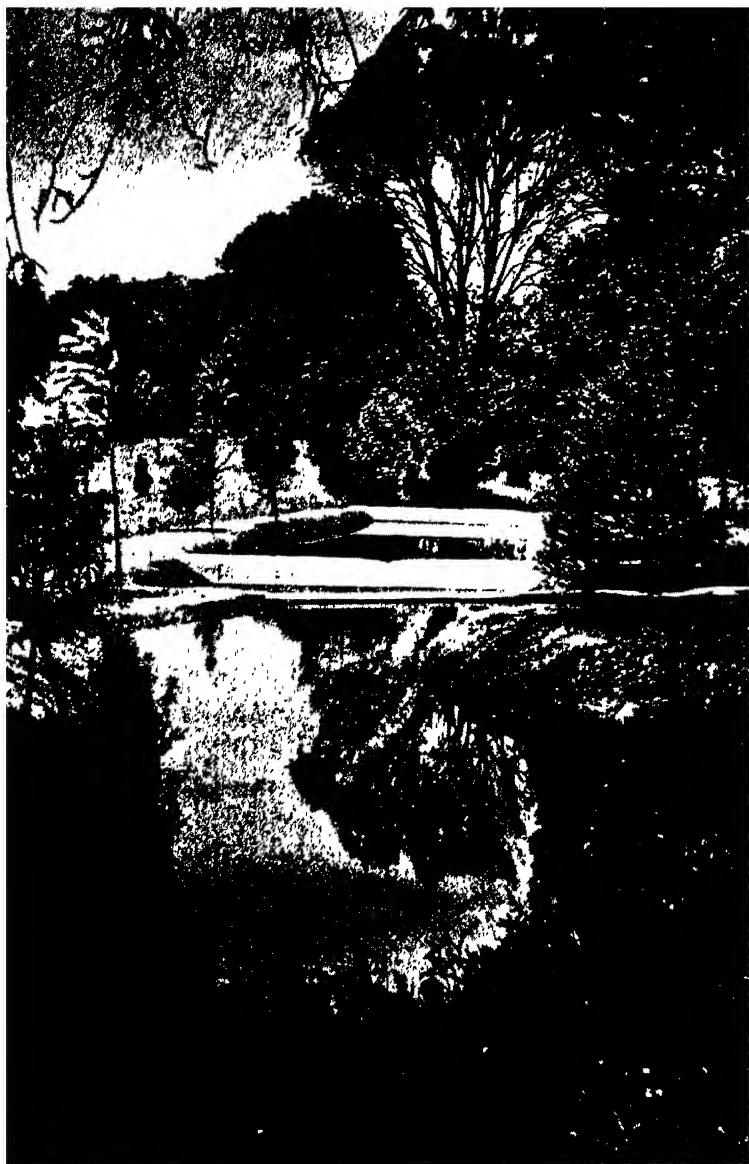
beautified; and given by one who has learned what it is to labor with affection. "And what is it to work with love?" asks Kahlil Gibran in *The Prophet*:

*"It is to weave the cloth with threads drawn from your heart, even as if your beloved were to wear that cloth.*

*It is to build a house with affection, even as if your beloved were to dwell in that house.*

*It is to sow seeds with tenderness and reap the harvest with joy, even as if your beloved were to eat the fruit.*

*It is to charge all things you fashion with a breath of your own spirit."*



*Photograph by Russell B. Stewart*

*The Horace Mann Lakes in Glen Helen*

## Part III

### THE ANTIOCH OF TODAY AND TOMORROW

*The purpose of Antioch is to promote the development, in proportion, of every element of personality. Antioch deliberately undertakes to unify the humanities and the sciences, the vocational and the cultural, the practical and the beautiful, the good and the necessary. A good life includes all these elements. They should be regarded as harmonious parts of a well-proportioned whole. . . . This pattern of human character should ideally include health; economic sense, both personal and social; vocational competence; social interest and responsibility; a disposition to acquire and transmit the culture and wisdom of the race; and effectiveness in using all these interests and skills for solving one's own problems and those of society. It should include the habit of using both disciplined discrimination and creative imagination in ethical decisions, in scientific thinking, in aesthetic appreciation, and in practical taste and judgment.—*  
*From the ANTIOCH COLLEGE CATALOG for 1938-39.*

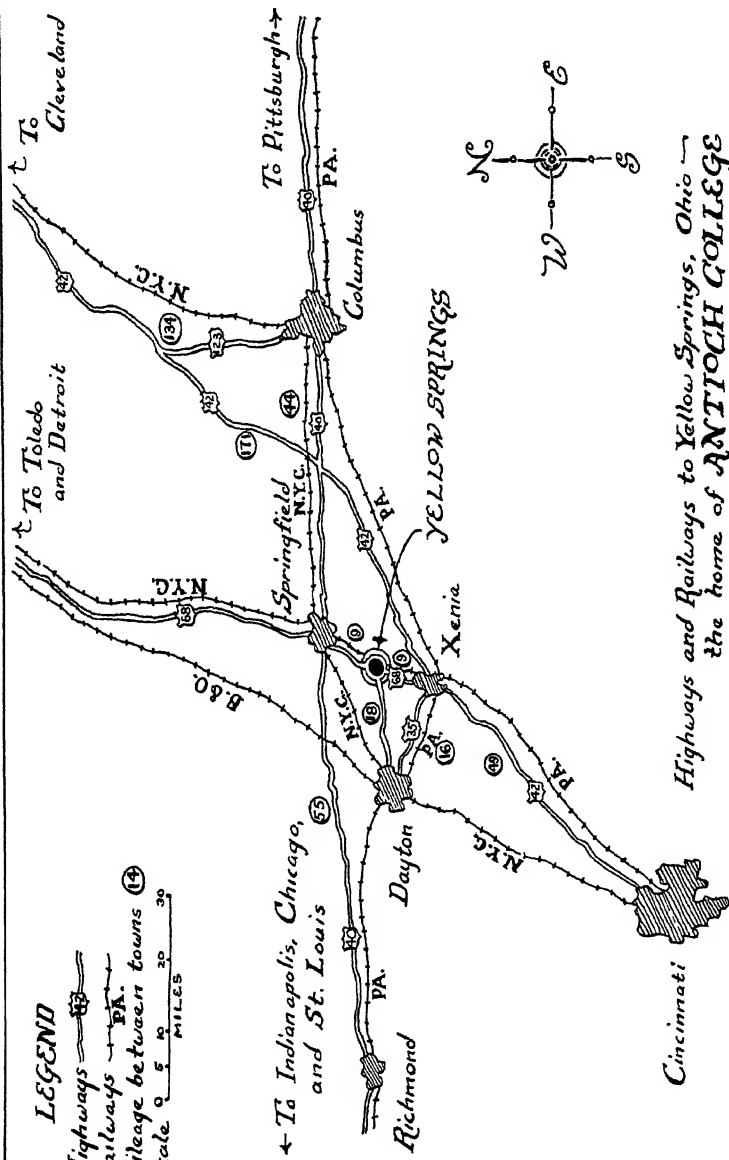
# LEGEND

Highways

Railways

Mileage between towns (12)

Scale 0 5 10 20 30  
MILES



Highways and Railways to Yellow Springs, Ohio  
the home of **ANTIOCH COLLEGE**

## The Antioch of Today and Tomorrow

*"Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,  
Is our destined end or way;  
But to act, that each tomorrow  
Find us farther than today."*

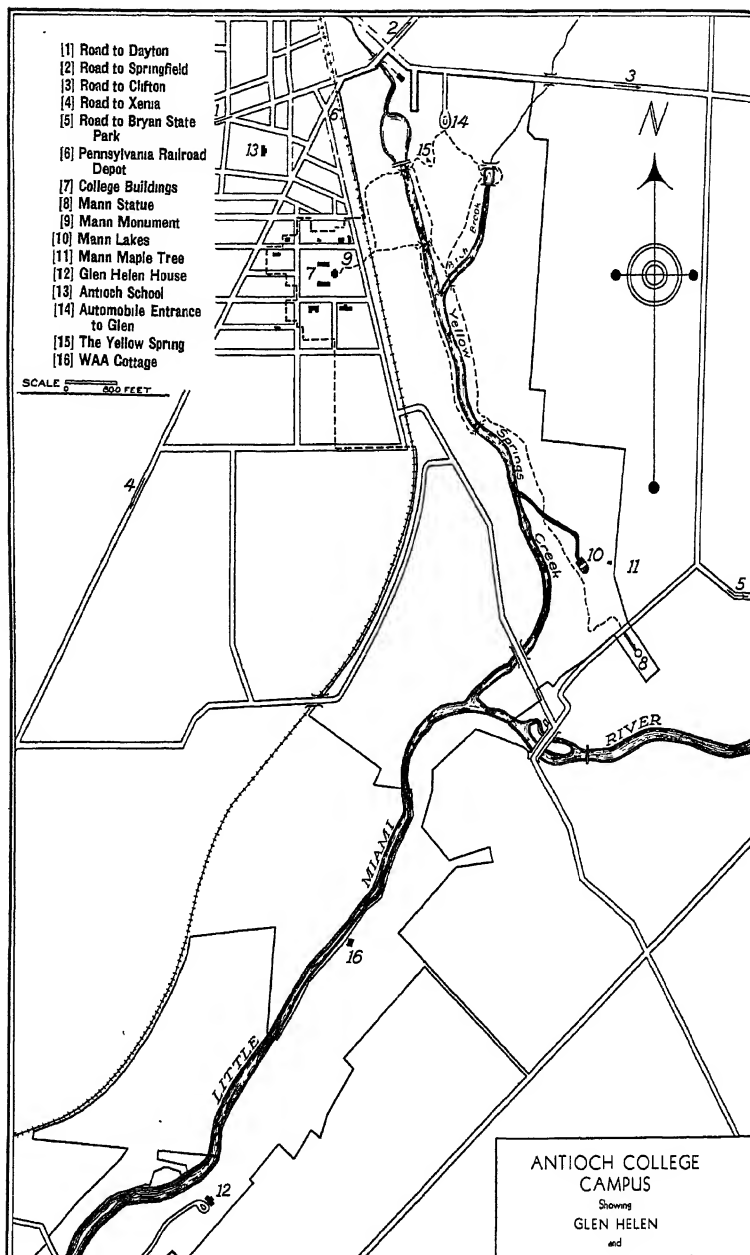
IT is inevitable that he who reads of the Antioch of Horace Mann's time will ask, "And what of the Antioch of today and tomorrow?" Since the purpose of a book is to serve the reader, and since the Antioch of today continues so largely the ideals for which Horace Mann stood, and since there is a rapidly widening interest in higher education, we include this chapter.

In our various visits to Antioch College, we have been impressed with the sincerity, competence, and cooperative spirit among both students and faculty. Wherever we have met the students in school or out, we have found enthusiasm and purpose. Cooperative employers have uniformly spoken well of students sent to them. Certainly Antioch must be included high on the list of the best colleges of today. With its student body of nearly 700 it is large enough to be an effective community, but not so large that the individual student is lost in a maelstrom of numbers.

The college still has its financial problems and needs the generous help of its friends. It is working consistently at its financial task and has steadily reduced its debt from \$473,273

- [1] Road to Dayton
- [2] Road to Springfield
- [3] Road to Clifton
- [4] Road to Xenia
- [5] Road to Bryan State Park
- [6] Pennsylvania Railroad Depot
- [7] College Buildings
- [8] Mann Statue
- [9] Mann Monument
- [10] Mann Lakes
- [11] Mann Maple Tree
- [12] Glen Helen House
- [13] Antioch School
- [14] Automobile Entrance to Glen
- [15] The Yellow Spring
- [16] WAA Cottage

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in 1930-31 to \$358,563 in 1937-38—a most substantial achievement in a period of financial insecurity. Anyone who wishes to invest in the future of America may well give careful consideration to the needs of Antioch College, and what better investment can anyone make than in youth and the future?

The most important thing about a college is the spirit which animates it, and for the Antioch of today that spirit has found expression in the utterances of the two presidents who have been in charge of the college since 1920—Arthur E. Morgan and Algo D. Henderson. We shall tell the story of the Antioch of today and tomorrow in the words of these two presidents, both competent interpreters of a great ideal.

## A Continuing Heritage

By ALGO D. HENDERSON

*President of Antioch College*

*The following statement is taken from the ANTIOCH COLLEGE BULLETIN for September 1937. It gives a picture of the College as it is now operating. Persons interested in further details will find them in the ANTIOCH COLLEGE CATALOG for 1938-39 which is the best arranged college catalog we have seen.*

*The Antioch goal*—At Antioch, as at all colleges, the heart of the educational problem is to determine clearly the purpose for which the institution exists and then to formulate a program through which that purpose may be realized.

Antioch's general purpose was stated at the outset. In his inaugural address of 1853, Horace Mann, the first president, declared unequivocally that a college should concern itself with three things: the bodily health, the mental enlightenment, and the moral education of its students. To achieve

this purpose, Antioch's first program utilized many of the methods then new in higher education: courses in health and compulsory exercise, the elective system of studies, and a better curricular balance in favor of the sciences. President Mann secured religious freedom for the new institution, insisted upon coeducation, allowed no discrimination between races, and granted diplomas only to those who could show unblemished characters as well as improved minds.

Reorganizing the College in 1920, Arthur E. Morgan restated the Antioch purpose as "the development, in proportion, of every element of personality," and for its realization instituted the outstanding features of the present Antioch program: the cooperative plan of work and study, the broad required course program in the arts and sciences, the honor system, the faculty adviser plan, the health examinations and the intramural games and sports program, and the policy of student responsibility for student conduct and activities. He tried to motivate students toward fine social purposes, and encouraged them to begin to formulate a philosophy of life.

From recent discussions, it is clear that presentday Antioch is in sympathy with the traditional purpose of the College. It believes that other faculties of the student should be trained as well as his mind, if he is to live an adequate and satisfying life. Intellectual development, indeed, should be accelerated by such additional training. Horace Mann believed, Arthur Morgan believed, Antioch still believes, in education for life.

*The Antioch program: educating for life*—A college organizes its program to realize its purpose. If Antioch believes in educating its students for life, how does it specifically attempt to do so? In the administration of its program, what issues and problems are arising? Five of the major elements in the Antioch program will be discussed in this section,

together with current developments and progress in them. These elements are as follows:

[1] Course of study. Antioch tries first of all to give its students a solid intellectual foundation by requiring a broad cultural program in the liberal arts and sciences, plus proficiency in a field of concentration. That is, academically the student should acquire a cultural base broad enough to make him aware of the major intellectual interests of the race, and he should also have the experience of more concentrated and thorough work in one field of his own choice. Recent modifications in the curriculum have been aimed at giving this purpose greater meaning in the student's life.

[2] The cooperative program. Antioch believes in the program of alternate work and study as a means of encouraging the student to develop initiative, maturity, and judgment, and of helping him to find that vocation for which he is best fitted and in which he will be happiest. Current developments in the plan are pointed toward better integration between the student's work experiences and his academic experiences; toward more effective counseling and placement.

[3] Character. Antioch attempts to strengthen and refine the character of its students less by rules and exhortation than by the contagion of example and by making clear the issues involved and giving the students responsibility, under guidance, for their own personal and social welfare. This policy of education through active responsibility is gaining increased emphasis in the Antioch program.

[4] Health. Antioch believes in educating for life in the matter of health. By unifying the health and physical education programs, and by securing more accurate information about the health knowledge of incoming students, the College aims to give better health training and service.

[5] Research. The College regards the presence of active research on the campus as stimulating both to faculty and to students. The program of scientific research, independently financed, has been extended in scope and personnel, and has materially added to College facilities.

*Growth through knowledge*—The first concern of any college is, naturally, to provide its students with a substantial course of study. In its basic objectives and general content, the Antioch curriculum has remained the same for several years past; a detailed description of it may be found in the College catalog. In general its approach is functional—*i.e.*, it aims at meeting certain definite life needs.

The curriculum is not, however, taken for granted by the faculty and regarded as permanently fixed. There is continued and often heated discussion concerning the definition and objectives of a liberal education, the purpose and scope of specialized study in the fields of concentration, and the place of skills and applied subjectmatter in a college program. Such discussion is not wholly “academic”; it frequently results in greater unity of purpose, greater faith in the methods upon which there is general agreement, and modification of the program where the need for modification becomes apparent.

In one study now under way, the Examinations Committee is attempting to answer the question, What does the extensive required course program contribute to the realization of the Antioch purpose? Theoretically designed to give the student a broad and comprehensive intellectual outlook—to raise his general knowledge to the adult level, as it were—the required courses are made the basis for one division of the comprehensive examination given to the seniors each spring. Since they are thus emphasized, it seems reasonable to ask how far

they are fulfilling their function. The Committee is beginning with a study of the content of the three required courses in physical science—chemistry, physics, and geology—to determine what specific attitudes, skills, and knowledge the College expects students to derive from them.

The required course program has frequently been criticized as being too rigid. In the social sciences, for instance, a freshman, no matter how interested, could elect but one course. To meet this deficiency, economics is being taught this year on two levels: underclassmen may elect a problems course designed to build upon their experiences and observations, and upperclassmen and economics majors may choose a course with more emphasis on theory. If this experiment is successful, other subjects may be treated in the same way.

Increasingly better integration with the highschool program is being secured through an extension of the freshman testing program. Freshmen are now allowed more latitude in waiving the College requirements when they can demonstrate through achievement tests that they already possess equivalent knowledge.

Another effort to eliminate rigidity in the curriculum has resulted in a redefinition of the field of concentration. A "field" is now regarded as that sequence and combination of subjectmatter which will give the student a foundation and some proficiency in his major academic interest and need. In other words, a *field* need not be synonymous with a *department*. The desirability of this move is indicated by the number of students who major in such fields as Child Development, which cuts across the Departments of Psychology and Home Economics, and the Fels Research Institute; and Personnel Administration, which includes courses in economics, business administration, and psychology.

A study of the curriculum from the standpoints of field content and of teaching load resulted in a re-emphasis on basic theory rather than applied subjectmatter. The tendency to expand the number of applied courses, especially in a few departments, was checked. The student still has the opportunity, however, to explore intensively some topic of special or vocational interest to him, often on an autonomous basis; and beyond this, additional opportunity to acquire the necessary applications is provided by the cooperative work program.

*Growth through experience*—A fundamental assumption of the Antioch cooperative plan is that practical experience is educational to young people, who need to supplement information *about* the world with firsthand knowledge *of* the world as it actually is. A second fundamental assumption is that through the cooperative plan, young people are enabled to make vocational exploration, and select not only the narrow calling, but the career, in the broadest sense of the word, from which they can derive the greatest satisfaction and through which they can contribute the most.

There are still other possibilities in the cooperative program. It can be adjusted to the individual's personal needs and made an instrument of personal growth. Cooperative experiences can be integrated with academic studies. The scope of the plan and the opportunities it offers can be continually widened and enriched.

In sixteen years' experience with the cooperative program, the College has experimented with vocational adjustment, with considerable success. Vocational counseling generally is in the pioneer stage, and much remains to be done in assisting young people to discover their interests and abilities, and to acquaint themselves with occupational opportunities.

Antioch not only is interested in availing itself of the most modern counseling technics, but also should be in a position to make some contribution professionally to vocational counseling practice. In this connection the Personnel Department is now attempting to apply objective tests and measurements wherever feasible, and to study the relation of specific job experiences to various vocational fields.

Antioch has likewise made progress in attempting to fit the cooperative experience to the individual's personal needs and capacities, so that it may become an effective instrument of personal development. The work experience is both a discipline and an opportunity: under it the student must accept responsibility, and must make personal adjustment to many different situations and people. Further progress in this use of the cooperative plan will be made as better coordination between the personnel advisers and faculty advisers, teachers, and other College agencies can be worked out. As in all dealings with individuals, the possibilities here are limited only by the time and energy of the staff.

There is a natural connection between the older student's academic field of concentration and the vocational bearings of his work experience; and the more reflective student usually tries to correlate his academic knowledge of economics, the natural and social sciences, and psychology with his observations of people, policies, and processes on the job. Conversely, in the more specialized subjects, such as child psychology or accounting, a student will often be able through his own practical experiences to make valuable contributions to the class discussion. Further correlation between academic studies and work experiences may well be one of the next objectives of curriculum study and of the College counseling staff.

Altogether, the cooperative plan emerges as an educational device of proved merit, and as a means toward that kind of all-round personal development which is probably Antioch's outstanding educational contribution. Its solid and real achievement is in no way lessened, but rather enhanced, by the realization that it holds educational possibilities which have not yet been fully worked out.

Some statistics for the year 1935-36 (the last for which complete figures are yet available) may give the reader an idea of the present scope of the plan. In that year, some 79% or 528, of a student body of 668 was enrolled on a cooperative basis. During that year the College had 581 different jobs, of which 201 were continuous throughout the year; 179 were "regular" seasonal jobs, such as department store jobs, accounting jobs, and work in summer camps; and 201 were more or less special or temporary.

The trend has been steadily toward a widening of the geographical boundaries of the cooperative plan. In 1921, when it was first inaugurated, 99.1% of the employers were located in Ohio and only .9% in other states. In 1935-36, of the 236 regular employers (excluding 138 others with whom students worked on a special temporary basis), 55 or 23.3% were located in Ohio, and 181 or 76.7% in states other than Ohio. In 1935-36 Antioch had cooperative employers in twenty-six different states. Total annual earnings of Antioch cooperative students, which fell from \$282,734 in 1928-29 to \$86,628 in 1933-34, had increased to \$177,624 in 1935-36.

Since 1931-32, the College has been admitting approximately half of its new students on a fulltime study basis for the first year. This policy grew out of two situations: the desirability of some of the younger and more immature students' remaining on the campus for a year before beginning cooper-

ative employment; and the difficulty experienced by the College during depression years in finding enough suitable jobs for the younger students. Improved industrial conditions now make it possible to increase the number of available jobs; but experience has proved that it is often valuable for freshmen to spend their beginning year at Antioch in full-time study.

The Personnel Department spent a good share of last year's time and effort on a critical analysis of cooperative job statistics and trends. This study is expected to be very valuable to the Department in developing its objectives and technics. One immediate result has been the revision of its records system to give more complete and accurate information about employers and jobs. In addition to collecting data about the present functioning of the plan, the Department is making an occupational census of alumni and a check of alumni history, with the double object of assisting in alumni placement and in obtaining information about the longtime effects of cooperative experience.

*College and character*—One of the principal elements in personal growth is the development of integrity and of responsibility, both individual and social. Since these traits of character are partly the result of association and social contagion, the College should seek to provide its students with a faculty of moral strength and fine purpose.

But such a body of men and women is not enough. Formerly college faculties attempted to promote the development of character through such devices as compulsory religious exercises, and restrictions and penalties on actions and behavior. Today, however, dogma and authority are losing their sanction, especially with young people. With the extension of the scientific method, truth is beginning to be approached

less through authoritarianism than through critical inquiry; and college practice needs to be made consistent with this new approach.

Besides informal and friendly association with the faculty, Antioch attempts to provide two main opportunities for self-development and the formation of desirable habits of character: a greatly enlarged experience of the world as it is, good, bad, and indifferent, with its perpetual conflict between ideals and practice; and a progressive assumption of responsibility by the students for student conduct and activities. Such realistic experience, both on the job and on the campus, under the mature guidance of friendly counselors, is a preparation for the increased responsibilities which will come with graduation.

The work of Community Government on the campus will serve as an illustration of the Antioch practice. Community Government, the membership of which includes all students and faculty, and of which the leadership is vested in a council including both faculty and student members, has been encouraged to assume responsibilities often considered the exclusive prerogative of faculty and trustees. It takes the lead in the functioning of the honor system, and in setting the standards of student conduct. Its responsibilities include supervision of the social and cultural activities of the campus, safety and traffic regulations, community publications, and the College bookstore and cooperative laundry and cleaning services. It assists in directing the intramural athletic program. The responsibility thus jointly and successfully assumed by students and faculty is a valuable experience to all who share in it, and the students participating gain noticeably in maturity and judgment.

The recent handling of the drinking question is an inter-



ALGO D. HENDERSON  
*President of Antioch College since 1936*

esting example of faculty-student cooperation and of the extent to which Antioch students are asked to assume campus responsibility. The question first came up last winter when there seemed to be an increase in social drinking. Some faculty and students advocated stringent rules; others felt that the problem was unimportant and discussion superfluous. The situation could easily have resulted in a serious breach between faculty and students, and between different groups in the faculty.

Instead, there were several frank discussions, which proved educational to both sides. As a result, the responsibility for dealing with the situation, as for dealing with other questions of student conduct, was placed primarily on the shoulders of Community Government. The opinion of the faculty has been made clear, in a statement receiving general endorsement. Here, as in similar instances, the problem has been treated as an educational opportunity, the faculty adopting an advisory attitude rather than drafting compulsory legislation. The general objective is to give the students the background and information with which to make intelligent choices for their personal and group attitudes and habits.

Another illustration of student initiative and responsibility was an innovation made in the social activities of the campus last year. A group of students calling themselves the "Panel" worked out a plan for an organized social program supported by a social fee admitting students to all events. Once somewhat sporadic and financially precarious, the social activities of the College are now on a much more stable and satisfactory basis. Careful budgeting and planning have not only strengthened the older activities, but have added such promising new ones as a concert series and an interesting miscellany of informal parties. One excellent result has been

the much more general student participation. Social functions are no longer beyond the reach of those with limited finances, and the socially immature are encouraged to share in experiences to which they now have a pre-established right.

*Educating for health*—Antioch College is attempting to work out a health and physical education program which will function as a unit, fostering habits of health and recreation both in college and in post-college life.

The first step in such a program obviously is adequate medical care. Antioch has this, with a College physician and staff and an infirmary equipped to care for the usual run of college cases. In the first weeks of the academic year all freshmen and new students are interviewed by the College physician, who discusses with them the medical examination which is required for admission, and deals with any health problems needing attention. At the beginning of their second year at Antioch all students are given a rigorous physical examination by the College physician. Physical examinations in succeeding years are on a voluntary basis, with students encouraged to make full use of the College health equipment and personnel. Medical care and treatment is, of course, available to all students throughout the school year.

To supplement the facilities of the College infirmary and staff, Antioch is now for the third year carrying a group health insurance policy which provides for consultations with outside physicians when requested by the College physician, and certain kinds of emergency hospitalization, up to \$200, during the school year. The object of this plan is to enlist group resources in meeting individual emergencies, so that the individual affected does not have to withdraw for financial reasons, and may be assured of adequate care.

The second step in a unified health program is adequate

provision for physical education and sports. Beginning in 1929, the Antioch community has successively voted out the various forms of intercollegiate competition, and today the major sports program is exclusively intramural. It is estimated by the Physical Education Department that from eighty-five to ninety percent of the student body participates in these activities—ranging from touch-football, basketball, and golf to a women's group in the modern dance; and there is also considerable participation by the faculty. The three years of required class work in physical education, for both men and women, make individual and team sports the basis of the curriculum.

As a coordinating agency in dealing with health problems, Antioch has a central Committee on Student Health, made up of the deans of men and women, the College physician, a representative of the Personnel Department, and the physical education and health staffs. This group, now entering its third year of work, meets regularly to discuss health problems of the community as a whole and also of those individual students who have begun to show signs of difficulty. By pooling the academic, social, employment, and health records of the individual, and by timely action, the Committee seeks to avert serious trouble and to give constructive aid.

Presumably, students should enter college with some basic knowledge about health. In the last two years, however, Antioch has given 394 incoming students diagnostic tests in health knowledge, which reveal a startling ignorance of the simplest hygienic facts.

As an experiment, during 1937-38 all fulltime freshman students will be registered for one credit hour per semester for such health study as their diagnostic tests show them to need. Each freshman will follow a course of study outlined

in a syllabus, supplemented by optional lectures, discussions, and conferences; and credit will be contingent upon satisfactory performance in achievement tests. If significant results are secured from this experiment, it is hoped that funds may be forthcoming to extend a similar service to all students.

*The contributions of research*—Research at Antioch College falls into two main categories—educational and specialized. In a very real sense, the entire College is a continuing experiment in higher education. From its beginning under Horace Mann it has pioneered in educational method, and the contributions it has made in recent years are well-known. Today it has under way many experiments of value to itself and of potential value to others, though it lacks sufficient man-power and financial resources to analyze objectives and measure results with exactness. Antioch's constant willingness to attempt changes in curriculum and in method, however, has gone far toward keeping the program alive and vital.

The specialized research, on the other hand, has been steadily expanded. Although no project is undertaken until the funds for it have been assured, the research budget has increased in eight years from an annual \$500 to roughly \$85,000, or more than one-fifth of the general College budget. The research titles published by the Antioch faculty in the year 1936-37 number 30.

One of the largest of the group projects is the Samuel S. Fels Research Institute, which is conducting a long-range study of the influences of prenatal and postnatal environment on children. The Institute now has a group of over a hundred children who have been observed prenatally as well as postnatally. Published work on the effects of prenatal environment includes the unborn child's response to sounds, maternal emotion, and maternal use of tobacco, and the

effects on the child of differences in the mother's food and endocrine function. Studies in postnatal environment now under way include records of physical growth, and behavior studies. The children are observed both in their home environments and at the Institute; and with the addition last February of an observation nursery school and staff, their behavior in group situations is also being recorded.

The C. F. Kettering Foundation for the Study of Chlorophyll and Photosynthesis has just issued a report partially summarizing its work over the past seven years. The published scientific papers of the group cover studies in the synthesis of a new series of porphyrins (compounds related to both chlorophyll and hemin), the study of the fluorescence and photo-decomposition of several chlorophyll derivatives and a few synthetic porphyrins, the construction of a new recording microphotometer, the nature and formation of chlorophyll in the living plant, and the evolution of oxygen as a part of the mechanism of photosynthesis. Through the assistance of the Mary W. Harriman Trust Fund, a study of the physiological effects of both natural and synthetic porphyrins is being commenced.

The Kettering and Fels studies, which are purely scientific in aim, give Antioch an approach to two fundamental fields of human inquiry—the chemical and physical reactions whereby the energy from sunlight becomes stored as sugar, starch, and other substances, and thus plays an intimate part in life itself; and the ways in which human life can be altered by changes in environment. They notably increase the College's resources in the physical and biological sciences and in psychology. Geological research is represented by the continued excavation of the 40,000-year-old "yellow spring" mound, a post-glacial travertine spring deposit which con-

tains interesting fossils. As a project in educational research, the Antioch School is attempting to translate Antioch College ideals and methods to the elementary level of education; supported by the Keith Fund, it will also be continued during 1937-38. Besides the group projects, the research program at Antioch is further enriched by the contributions to scientific knowledge made by faculty members working as individuals.

In addition to its noncommercial research projects, the College has industrial undertakings involving research in the physical sciences, of which two in particular may be mentioned. The Antioch Industrial Research Institute has perfected a new type of thermostat which has gone into industrial production during the year; and a recent grant of \$5000 has enabled the Institute to complete the equipment of a special laboratory for the study of plastics. In the course of work with the Institute, several Antioch students have taken out patents on improvements of industrial processes. The Antioch Foundry Company, which had already improved the materials used in bronze casting, has now successfully developed several more industrial adaptations of its new method of casting aluminum in plaster molds.

This year has seen the inauguration of relations with the Ohio State University, the University of Minnesota, and the University of Kentucky, whereby fellows from those institutions may participate in the research program at Antioch and submit the resulting studies to their universities as fulfilling the requirements for the doctoral dissertation. In so far as possible, Antioch students are also given opportunity to participate in the research program; in 1936-37 there were employed nine graduates and former students, sixteen students on the alternating work and study plan, and ninety students on a part-time basis.



*A woodland scene in Glen Helen*

*Conclusion*—At the end of his first year as president of Antioch, the writer wishes to acknowledge the debt which the College owes to Arthur E. Morgan, president from 1920 to 1936, and since 1933 chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Mr. Morgan has been responsible for most of the developments under the new program and for the greater share of the recognition the College has won. To his originality of thought and courageous leadership Antioch owes its present characteristic pattern and spirit.

In view of the contributions of such leaders as Horace Mann and Arthur Morgan, it is our greatest hope for Antioch that it may fulfill the title given this report, and be indeed a "continuing heritage" to future generations. In sixteen years of trial, the new program has proved itself a valid and valuable contribution to education; it has also proved itself capable of greater growth and refinement, so that Antioch's chief contribution to education may well be yet to come. Antioch can realize its full growth, however, only if it is continually willing to explore, and if it can be assured of the continued faith and support of its friends.

## A Budget for Your Life

BY ARTHUR E. MORGAN

*Former President of Antioch College*

*The following statement which appeared originally in the WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION, is used here as published in the ANTIOCH COLLEGE BULLETIN for January 1934. The statement is particularly valuable to young people who wish to orient themselves and to bring perspective and proportion into their lives.*

*Living by chance*—Freedom from poverty and sickness,

freedom from ignorance and fear and other tormenting limitations, freedom to do the work one longs to do—such freedom we all ardently desire for ourselves and for our children. We desire, but so few of us attain.

Yet such liberty is attainable. The process is comparatively simple: budget your life interests.

Living a well-rounded life is our main job, yet it is the thing which most people leave largely to chance. Leaving life to luck is a sorry mistake, but a common one. You cannot leave your monthly bills to luck without disaster; how much more important to plan ahead for your life!

Most sensible people have learned to run their households on a financial budget. Important expenditures for rent, food, clothing, education, insurance, savings, benevolence, and recreation are anticipated and sums laid aside in proportion to the importance of the item in its relation to the income. Properly done, the result is freedom from worry about the monthly bills.

But how do we plan our lives? Usually we don't.

Here is a boy in his teens, beginning to want things which his parents cannot possibly afford to get him. He looks around for a job, the one which will bring him in the most money at once. He leaves school and takes the job, and is thereafter concerned mostly with work by day and amusement during the evenings and holidays. Vague thoughts of other things in life occasionally thrust themselves into his consciousness when the work or the play gets too monotonous, but the satisfaction of cultural aspirations is postponed until the dim by-and-by when there will be "more time for such things."

Or the boy goes to college. Even there he usually merely continues interests already started at home or in highschool.

He does not deliberately canvass the possibilities of his life, select the best, and plan and work accordingly. He selects those studies which will in his opinion be of the most help in earning a livelihood. He says:

"What I am interested in now is making a living. After that is cared for, I will take time for cultural affairs."

But he seldom does take time. At twenty-five the young graduate is getting settled and married. At thirty he must put all his energies into getting established. At thirty-five the children are coming along and family and business together leave no time. At forty—but forty is generally too late. He usually continues through life with the interests he had when he left college.

He may make a comfortable living, but he is far from living a well-rounded life. He complains more about social conditions than he cooperates in social work. He probably refers to politics as "dirty" without realizing that the reason they are dirty is that he did not include preparation for citizenship and for participation in local government in his life budget. He communes with nature by taking part in a Sunday afternoon motor procession on suburban boulevards. The theater is to him the season's musical comedy hits—anything else is "highbrow"—and the nearest he gets to art is the Sunday paper's brown-sheets. Music he plays by turning the indicator on a radio dial.

Or the girl with nebulous dreams of a career suddenly finds herself marooned in marriage with such a man as I have described. By the time the children are in school and a brief daily leisure is thus secured, she finds her only relief from the sense of something missing in life by seeking neglected culture possibilities in the crowded curriculum of the local woman's club.

*Making the life budget*—How shall we avoid such tragic failures? How shall we secure the freedom and satisfaction of a well-rounded life?

My suggestion is simply that we should determine what are the important things in the well-rounded life and prepare a balanced budget of interests which will bring us the liberty we desire.

In this paper therefore I wish to present a list of what I consider the significant values of life, the column headings in life's budget book. I shall endeavor to show their relative importance and to suggest some changes in current emphases. It sounds rather simple, but it really involves a new system of education.

What are the important things—the significant values which everyone should plan to include in his life whether he goes to college or not?

The elements of a well-rounded life should include, it seems to me, physical health; training for work; actual experience in work; a trained appreciation of social, religious, economic, and esthetic values; a sense of proportion; a well-grounded knowledge of history, literature, philosophy, and science; and finally, a life purpose.

The importance of health is so obvious as to need little emphasis here. It is the primary consideration because it so influences all the other elements of life. It is consequently strange that so few persons exercise the foresight which is necessary for the maintenance and continuance of good health throughout the normal lifetime. Early attention to the care of the teeth and the skin and the formation of regular habits of exercise, of eating, and of elimination—these, with a carefully chosen and well-varied diet, will practically insure the health of the individual until past the traditional three-

score years and ten. There should be added, however, participation in and cooperation with community health measures for sanitation and disease prevention.

The importance of technical or professional training for one's occupation is also obvious. Parents who have suffered for lack of such training are often pathetically eager that their children shall not be thus handicapped. One's joy in life frequently depends on whether or not he has had adequate preparation for his vocation. It increases his usefulness and power, and consequently his own happiness and his value to the community.

The third column heading in life's budget book I have called "actual experience in work." We need a substitute in modern apartment and city life for the old-fashioned chores on the farm. Although those chores were primarily assigned, not for the benefit of the boy, but to distribute the burden of farm work, they had a great value in preparing a boy for his own life work. We learn with our hands as well as, and in some cases much better than, by our eyes and ears. The accomplishing of actual tasks under adult direction develops strength, coordination of eye and hand, and a certain measure of responsibility. A boy or girl enters upon his life work handicapped if he has had no actual experience in good, plain hard work. Moreover, only by sharing the practical affairs of life with others can one come to judge accurately the qualities and motives of men.

Under the fourth heading I have grouped four very important sets of values, an appreciation of which is absolutely necessary for the attainment of a well-rounded life. One must have more or less developed "senses"—social, religious, economic, and esthetic—if he is to live his life to the full. By a social sense I mean a recognition of one's responsibilities to

others and an appreciation of the value of human contacts. One who has a developed social sense will tend to cultivate sound morals that he may be in harmony with the laws of human life. He will also find it easier to work with others, and if he is truly social he will wish to play too, and thus find that relaxation without which life becomes so boring.

A life which does not include some form of religion, or which does not at least include aspiration, is likely to fail in some other important respects. For religion or aspiration sustains a desire for the best. Most people who plan their lives carefully choose some church and ally themselves with it. Others, who perhaps see more clearly the defects and inadequacies of most existing religious organizations, have a private religion of their own. Some claim that a properly developed social sense supplies all the aspiration necessary. Whatever the individual may call it—religion, aspiration, or social hope—loyalty to some sort of ideal is a most important item in his life budget.

Another important sense, the cultivation of which is so necessary that its omission brings frequent disaster, is the economic. I am thinking now particularly of the economics of the individual. The economics of the state is important but belongs properly under the social sense. Personal finance is so very often mismanaged that one wonders that any parent allows a child to enter his teens without giving him instruction and experience in keeping his "outgo" under his "income." A properly trained financial sense brings freedom from strain and prevents one of the chief causes of marital unhappiness later on.

In America we have been prone to neglect the esthetic sense. An appreciation of beauty and a desire to have it in our homes and working-places insure a chief source of pleas-

ure in human life. The magazines have lately taught us much in this regard, but we have not yet learned to plan deliberately to give beauty a large place in our lives. Much of the greatness of ancient Hellas lay in the presence of the Parthenon, daily visible to all citizens, and in the use for the humblest household purposes of vases and jars that were poems in proportion.

It is this sense of proportion which beauty teaches us that I have placed at the head of the fifth column in our proposed budget of life interests. Most people never have enough money, time, or energy, because most of us have never cultivated a sense of proportion. The successful person is almost invariably the one with unusual ability to choose what is most important. While the average man feels that he must go with the crowd, the person of judgment comes to his own conclusions as to relative values. That ability to choose between the more and the less important, to give greater things the larger places—that ability can be developed by training and practice. Moreover, the cultivation of that ability even in middle age will sometimes turn the tide toward happiness and success.

The sixth of our major budget items is knowledge derived from others, our heritage from the race. Recently a man from South Africa gave me his reason why Central and South Africa have never been the seat of a great civilization. It is not because of climate, for Java and Ceylon are as hot, yet their ancient cities rivaled those of Egypt and Carthage. This man believes that it is because the coast of Africa, except on the north, has few harbors and is far removed from other lands, while deserts and swamps cut off the road from Egypt and the Mediterranean. Central Africa has had to grow up without meeting the rest of the world. Greece had a great

civilization, he holds, because it was in the lines of ancient traffic. It had good harbors and was the meeting place of men and of minds.

The Africans could not help their isolation, but we can. No one of us can discover very much about life for himself. We get most of our understanding from the great men who have traveled the way of life. If we have no harbors in our minds, the wisdom of the world passes us by and we remain barbarians.

Our heritage of knowledge from the past includes history, literature, philosophy, and science. One's life plan is incomplete unless it contemplates acquaintance with all this thought-treasure. History properly presented gives one a perspective of the experience of the race and its experiments in government and morality as it has advanced in civilization. No person can live or vote intelligently without knowing something of history.

Literature furnishes companionship with great minds. Not to plan for long hours with the great dramatists, poets, and prose creators of all lands is to make a sorry mistake. To know literature is possible today for even the poorest person.

To study philosophy is to fare forth with great thinkers to seek the meaning of life. With the trend of philosophy away from metaphysics, and with the illuminating and stimulating works available today, there is no excuse for the neglect of this important part of our heritage.

The last of the four parts of our legacy of knowledge from the past which I mentioned was science. This is hardly from the past, unless it be the very recent past. But in its short life science has already accomplished so much, not only in making the earth more comfortable and interesting for human living, but also in giving the race a new attitude toward life

itself, that we must assign it a large place in our life budget. The elements of chemistry, physics, biology, geology, and astronomy can be secured in popular treatises, and simple experimental firsthand contact with the material of these sciences is possible for all. The scientific attitude may come a little more slowly, but an honest inquiring mind may attain it. Without it life seems a chaos explainable only by magic and superstition.

Now all these six elements of life which I have so far recounted—health; training for work; experience in work; appreciation of social, religious, economic, and esthetic values; a sense of proportion and a knowledge of our historical, literary, philosophic, and scientific heritage from the past—all these are meaningless unless we include the seventh column heading, a life purpose.

A life purpose of one's own, chosen in the light of the past of the race and with the needs of the present and the possibilities of the future in mind, a central unifying purpose—this is the great thing after all. It provides a main reason for living and organizes life into a single great adventure. One may choose as his purpose the inclusive goal of striving to increase the significance and value of life as a whole, or, if his spirit craves more definite ends, he may seek to promote the discovery of a cure for cancer, the development of a better form of government, the stopping of the floods of China, the development of better business methods, the solving of a great problem of philosophy, the social salvation of a town, or the raising of a family. Definite and explicit life purposes are numerous and varied but, once one is chosen, it colors and influences all the other elements of life. A worthy life purpose, steadily pursued, whether it be attained or not, glorifies the humblest life.

*How the Antioch program started*—As a boy I thought that young people went to college to learn how to make budgets for their lives. Time has taught me differently. For more than twenty years as an engineer, I have had men working under my direction. At least a thousand of them have been college or university graduates, mostly from engineering schools where they had gone to learn how to make a living.

These young men needed to make a living, yes, but they needed many other interests as well—health, friends, books, recreation, preparation for citizenship, a philosophy of life—much else besides sheer technical ability. To some of these interests the technical school has been almost blind. The liberal arts colleges have done better, but even with them the curriculum frequently is a more or less accidental accumulation of studies that have had enough value to survive. The idea of definitely helping the student to make a budget for his life has seldom controlled college policy. There has been, it is true, an attempt to get the student to distribute his courses, but the chief aim in this has been versatility rather than proportion.

During the past twenty-five years I often have said to myself: "Isn't it possible to design an educational program that will carefully take account of every important human interest, but will strive not to follow any to the point where it interferes with others more important? Would it not be possible to have balance or symmetry as the controlling passion? Can we not realize that excellence of life lies in fine proportion? Why can't our colleges prevent the formation of lopsided and dwarfed and incomplete personalities by teaching the students to budget their life interests?"

College is better fitted for that job than any other institu-

tion; it takes young men and women just when they are developing their full mental powers, and introduces them to the larger values and problems of life. And through the college and the university new ideas spread. As the college is now, so will the nation be in one or two generations.

For many years my dream of a college for developing well-rounded men and women was only a dream, my working hours being given to building dams and canals and levees and bridges. Then suddenly and quite unexpectedly I found myself president of Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Ohio, with a free hand to try to make dreams come true. I told my friends what I had in mind and they told others, and when the College opened under the new plan in the fall of 1921, two hundred students and a fine faculty were on hand to take part in the great adventure with all the enthusiasm of pioneers.

Our annual enrollment is now between five hundred fifty and six hundred students. So it seems that the American public, and especially young men and women preparing for college, are genuinely interested in making budgets for their lives. That interest is not confined to any particular class or section. Whereas Harvard, Princeton, and Yale each gets about half its students from within about a hundred miles, only a fifth of Antioch's students come from within that distance. They represent nearly every state in the Union and several foreign countries. Young folks from the plains of northern Canada and from western ranches mix with those born and bred in New York, Boston, and Los Angeles. If any type is preponderant, it is that of native American stock.

*Budgeting life at Antioch*—Here, then, is an exceptionally good place to try out the life-budget idea in a cross-section of American life. How do we go at it?

Take the first item, that of health. The college doctors and the college nurse provide careful medical examination of each student at intervals, and refer defects to the department of physical education for corrective exercises, or to medical, surgical, or psychiatric specialists. The students are instructed in both personal and social hygiene, and nearly all students take part in athletics. Sideline vocal exercise doesn't count. Antioch is not a college built around a stadium. Major inter-collegiate sports have been eliminated, though intramural athletics thrive.

Our program of educational pioneering is continually leading us into interesting by-projects and research studies. In the course of physical examinations it has developed that not one girl in twenty-five who enters college has correct posture. This fault may not become troublesome in youth when vigor and elasticity of muscle make compensations. During later years, however, the muscles begin to let down and many serious disturbances develop. One who is budgeting for life thinks of those years.

It seems that faulty posture in girls is frequently due to badly designed shoes. So since 1923 Antioch has made a study of women's feet and women's shoes. The aim all along has been to design shoes not only sound from a health standpoint but also of such unquestioned beauty as to be attractive to well-dressed college girls. At last we seem to have reached the goal and the Antioch shoe is on the market, a union of beauty and proper construction.

Another interesting by-study concerned the use of tobacco by men students and its relation to scholarship.

Such studies as these, however, are incidental to our main purpose. They are valuable chiefly in giving us information as we seek to help young people prepare for a healthful life.

To the second item in the life budget, training for work, we give due attention. Technical or professional preparation for one's life work is of course one of the accepted reasons for going to college at all. A dominant interest to which one can give his whole soul with enthusiasm need not be destructive of the life-budget idea. We require that a third of the student's college time be given to concentration in some chosen field. Antioch students prepare for careers in education, engineering, scientific research, business, journalism, home economics, and several other fields. Preparatory work is given for courses in law, medicine, and architecture.

*Work and study*—Another phase of our program which is of great interest to the students themselves, and by which the college is perhaps best known, is the plan we have adopted which enables the student to secure during his college years the important third item of his life budget—actual experience in work.

Antioch students, both men and women, attend college half-time and work half-time at various practical jobs. The student body is divided into two parts: one half works while the other half studies. Each job is held by two students who work and attend college in alternate shifts of five or ten weeks. In this element of its program Antioch has followed the pioneer work of Dean Schneider of the University of Cincinnati. These jobs are with approximately 200 employers in twenty states. Boys are working in offices and factories, with construction crews, as architects' helpers, reporters on papers, in research laboratories, as salesmen, at landscape gardening, and in many other callings. The girls are teachers, managers of nursery schools, librarians, club managers, reporters, clerks and assistants in stores, factory operatives, and secretaries.

They get regular pay for their work, which about cuts in two the cost of the year at college. Upperclass students have at times entirely supported themselves. But self-support during college years is not the aim of this part-time program: it is educational and preparatory rather than remunerative.

Colleges have often assumed that education consists in getting knowledge out of books and laboratories. But life never entirely got into books. Real life has lessons to teach that can be learned nowhere else: lessons of common sense, of judging men and things, of checking theories by the facts.

The faculty of the Extramural School searches the entire eastern United States for worthwhile opportunities. Is a commercial scientific laboratory doing exceptional work? There Antioch students are employed. Is an industry at the forefront in methods and outlook? There you will probably find Antioch students. Is a progressive school blazing a new trail in education? There you may find Antioch students as cooperative teachers. Wherever pioneering is being done and high standards are being set, there we want Antioch students to be training for leadership.

The Extramural School staff finds jobs, visits students and employers, and holds conferences with the young men and women when they return to college. The cooperative program gives opportunities for students to try themselves out in different callings, and when the right calling is found, gives them training in it. About half the graduates in the fields of business and industry have remained after graduation in the firms with which they had already begun to work while in college.

*Body, mind, and spirit*—How many able men and women live troubled lives because they have not learned to handle their economic affairs! Every Antioch student has a course

in "personal finance" to teach the handling of personal expenses and how to plan expenditures for a home. There is a study of budgeting and each student lives for a year on a time-and-money budget developed by himself with the teacher's help. Once a month he takes budget and expense account to the professor of accounting and they go over it together. Then in the later college years a course in economics gives the student an understanding of the organization of the vast system by which we are clothed and fed and sheltered.

The problem of developing the appreciation of social, religious, economic, and esthetic values is rather difficult, but the cultivation of all these powers of mind is necessary in a complete life. No one student develops them evenly, but a proper preparation should neglect none of them.

The social sense is developed at Antioch in three ways: by the study of social science, by participation in the carefully planned community life of the college, and by human contacts "on the job."

The religious sense is fostered by constant emphasis on the necessity of great commitment to fine purpose. Sunday vespers are conducted by the college pastor, who has the assistance of committees of faculty and students representing many creeds, and of the college musical organizations. Attendance at the services is voluntary. The year 1930 saw the completion of "Rockford," a simple little building, which is reserved as a place of quiet where students and faculty may go for meditation and worship. At Rockford is also the pastor's study, where small groups may meet together around the open fire for discussion or to seek personal counsel and guidance. The qualities of directness, integrity, clean living, and fair play are noted by visitors on the campus. People sometimes ask how we dare send young men away on jobs

without constant personal supervision. Our answer is: "Did you ever meet a cleaner, finer-minded lot?"

Our courses for developing the esthetic sense need an article of their own. In this department emphasis is placed upon the sense of beauty as an active appreciative and creative force extending through all phases of life. A course in applied esthetics is required of every student in order that he may recognize and develop the esthetic possibilities of his own daily life and environment.

The visitor at Antioch sees evidence of a sense of beauty springing up in interesting and surprising places. The teaching of general esthetics, of music, drawing, painting, and modelling is not surprising. The Antioch Press does fine printing. One student designed and sold bookplates to the extent of \$6500 in a single year. The Antioch Shoe is a study of beauty in footwear. The Antioch Players have done brilliant work in dramatics. Some Antioch students write good poetry. Glee club and orchestra flourish.

"Glen Helen," with its nine hundred acres, is Antioch's greatest natural asset of beauty. It is a wonderful tract of fine wooded hillside, limestone cliffs, streams, native forests, and meadows, extending for four miles along Yellow Springs Creek and the Little Miami River. Few American colleges have such a wonderful environment of natural wildness and beauty.

*"To him who in the love of Nature holds communion  
with her visible forms,"*

"Glen Helen" speaks a various language of solitude, of wooded streams, of forest picnics, of refreshing walks, of spring flowers, and autumn red and gold.

*A full life*—At Antioch the principle of budgeting for life is in no way more evident than in the emphasis upon the need of a sense of proportion. The interests of students as they come to college are largely accidental, acquired from the interests of their community, from the newspapers, or from some prevailing vogue. Visiting at Reno, Nevada, some time ago, I found the school children playing at having divorces. It is the business of the college to replace the accidental, local, and temporary interests with those that are fundamental and universal and properly to proportion them in the student's life budget.

A budget for one's life cannot be merely a matter of rules: it must be a spirit and an attitude. There must be continued effort to keep life in proportion, to prevent some few interests from running away with our lives, to stimulate vital interests we have neglected.

I called on a young friend in a Western tuberculosis sanitarium and when I mentioned to the doctor that he was the outstanding athlete in his college class the reply was: "Oh yes, the town is full of tubercular athletes. Overstrenuous athletics is one of the commonest records of our patients." College men dying from lack of a sense of proportion!

At Antioch nearly everyone is in athletics, but athletics do not dictate to the college. Of social life there is a normal amount but it does not disrupt the college program. Comparatively few students are definitely pressed for money, but standards of living are moderate. There is great interest in the cooperative jobs, but cultural interests hold their own and even play a bigger part than the technical courses in the college program. The faculty examines the program year by year in a continual effort to make it reflect their best judgment of relative values.

The sixth item, the racial heritage of knowledge, including history, literature, philosophy, and science, is of course somewhat available at every college but in most of them its pursuit is not required of all students. Technical students are seldom expected to spend much time with literature or philosophy or even history, and arts students are asked to give very little time to science. But at Antioch a thorough acquaintance with all four is required of all students. It is the business of one who is making a budget for his life to get acquainted with the outlooks of great men.

Science is especially important in the life budget. Nothing else for fifteen hundred years has done so much to free humanity from disease, want, superstition, and mistaken traditions as has the scientific attitude. Just as science has freed the world, so can it free each individual from ignorance, superstition, and much ill-being. Every Antioch student is introduced to the more important sciences.

In order that upperclass men and women may be associated with qualified research scientists, both in advanced courses and on their "co-op" jobs, Antioch is undertaking to surround itself with a circle of research institutes, independently financed.

Some of these interesting projects are a fifteen-year study of the earliest development of human traits and qualities in the prenatal and early postnatal period; a ten-year study of photosynthesis (the process by which green plants use the sun's energy to make sugar, starch, and cellulose); the casting of art bronzes; and a variety of chemical and physical studies of industrial processes. Antioch is thus becoming a research center where students and faculty members can have the stimulus of a scientific atmosphere. Students take courses under these research men, serve as laboratory assistants on

their cooperative jobs, and remain after graduation to do graduate work.

Antioch has done much pioneering with methods for making college teaching effective. One of the most interesting and successful of these new methods is the autonomous program, first introduced at Antioch in 1921, and now being adopted with variations in many colleges and universities.

For six years Antioch experimented with the autonomous program of self-directed study, and then expanded that program to cover all but the first two years at college. After the sophomore year compulsory class attendance is largely eliminated. Assignments are given for long periods, for five weeks, or for a semester. Faculty members are available at regular office hours for conference with individuals or groups, and there is generally a group conference once each week. Lectures are given at the request of students, or whenever in the judgment of faculty members they are considered desirable. Attendance is voluntary. Examinations or conferences each semester enable faculty members to know what progress is being made.

Under this program the student must to a greater extent educate himself. That is, he must organize his own time, and proportion it among his studies; he must dig out his own information, and not have it handed to him in daily pellets, to be handed back in quiz or recitation. The faculty member, relieved from these routine duties, has time for conference and discussion. Students can progress rapidly or slowly, as their abilities make possible.

The autonomous program makes possible longer periods of uninterrupted study, allows the students to plan their own time, and makes possible more intimate contact with faculty members.

The seventh column heading, a life purpose, cannot be filled out for one person by another or by a group of others. But the possible purposes can be canvassed. In the "life aims" course at Antioch our idea is to help students to realize clearly how the dominant aims of men have their origins in instinct, religion, tradition, current environment, and innate traits; to learn what general aims have seemed to men to be most adequate for life as a whole; to study the various special aims—money, position, family, friends, and security—as they may contribute to the general aim; and to develop a sense of relative values.

We want men and women everywhere, in colleges or not, to be free from unnecessary limitations and prepared to achieve worthwhile things, and we believe that budgeting for life is the way to go at it. Our course at Antioch is five or six years. We are now in the thirteenth year of the new plan, so we can make as yet no statement of longtime results. But we have seen enough already in the marked effectiveness and success with which our graduates outline their life programs and step into responsible places and succeed, to know that the plan actually works. Its possibilities for remaking and freeing human life are very great.

# Part IV

## DEDICATORY AND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

*Delivered by Horace Mann, October 5, 1853*

THE INAUGURATION of the college with Mr. Mann as president was an outstanding event. More than three thousand thronged the grounds for the exercises, many of whom, having come the day before and being without shelter, had slept in carriages. All were eager to hear the words of this famed educator from the East.—E. I. F. WILLIAMS, 84:315.

*It was a great occasion, but Horace Mann was worthy of it all. He saw a beginning, which, stretching out into the centuries, would grow to the largest plans and hopes. In thrilling words he dedicated the building to the glory of God and the service of man. I have heard a few inaugural addresses and I have read many more, but not one that equals the inaugural address of Horace Mann. Throughout its thrilling words were tuned to the grand key, "God, Duty, Humanity." He saw, as with a prophet's vision, the great opportunity, and voiced it in noble words to men who were to help him build it into the life of the great new West!—GEORGE ALLEN HUBBELL, 49:18.*

THIS DISCOURSE is perhaps the most elaborate and finished of all its author's educational addresses. It has all the qualities of his mind. It is affluent in ideas, rhetorical in construction and diction, diffuse in language and illustration. It is widely removed in character from the conventional college president's inaugural address. It hardly touches the questions that most interest college instructors and administrators today. Whether the humanities, the mathematics, or the sciences make the best discipline; how the several groups of studies should be compounded in the curriculum; the relations of specialization and general culture; the college ideal separate and apart from the life ideal; investigation and research as instruments of teaching; whether the college instructor should be an investigator, and should lead his pupils to become such—these questions are not so much as noted. . . . It is quite true that some of the questions just mentioned have come to the front since that day, and that the face of higher education has much changed; but Horace Mann would not today, if alive, write an inaugural address that was very different from the one that he wrote in 1853; he would still connect education and character, and find the best test of the value of a college in the extent to which it fits young men and women for the practical duties of life. Ingenuity in deciphering an old text or skill in the use of a test-tube, he would hold quite subordinate to general cultivation and sound character. He would still pass by the technical questions of the teaching art to grapple with the great issues of life and destiny.—B. A. HINSDALE, Horace Mann and the Common School Revival, 45:249.

## Dedicatory and Inaugural Address

*Gentlemen of the Board of Trustees, and Friends and Patrons  
of Antioch College:*

Let us thank God for the happy auspices under which we have assembled. It is pleasant to the eye to behold the grand and imposing edifice in which we have met; but, oh! how much more joyful to the heart to contemplate the beneficent and sacred purposes for which it has been erected. Let us dedicate it to the two great objects—which can never be rightfully separated from each other—the honor of God and the service of man; and while we consecrate this material structure to duty and to humanity, let us renewedly consecrate our own hearts to the worship of our Father in Heaven and to the welfare of our brethren upon earth.

But why have these spacious structures been erected? Why this public occasion and this crowd of eager and anxious spectators? Why these solemn services and this inauguration of a faculty selected from different parts of our wide country, and known at least for their earnest desires, if not for their ability, to promote the well-being of mankind? And why this invocation of the blessing of God upon our enterprise? These, my friends, are momentous inquiries. The answer to them comprehends whatever of weal or woe a human being can enjoy or suffer.

Man is believed to be the last and most perfect workmanship of the Creator upon earth. His organization is most complex and elaborate and, to the eye of causality, each one of all his faculties has an amazing significance. As a reaper

of pleasures, all worlds are his harvest-fields. As a sufferer of pain, every spot in all the worlds may be Guatemozin's bed of fire. His faculties have a range and scope above, around, below, through, what we call immensity; a vision backward and a duration onward, through what we call eternity. He has moral and religious endowments, so that the door of the moral and religious universe, wherein dwell God and all good spirits, stands forever open to welcome his entrance. His spirit can learn its origin in the remote past and trace its destiny in the remoter future, can converse with its fellow-creatures and hold communion with its Creator, and when it dies here upon earth can rise to immortality in the spirit-land.

But which shall inspire us with the deeper awe, these god-like prerogatives or the frightful perils that attend them? Our more complicated organization gives scope to more complicated derangements. Give your harp a thousand strings to multiply its melodies, and you multiply its capability of producing discords in a still greater proportion. Send out the human nerves beyond the surface of the body, that they may ramify over mankind, in order to partake of their pleasures—through retrospection over the ancients and through anticipation over posterity—and a thousand piercing pains shall tell you that these nerves can be conductors of sorrow as well as of joy. Endow the soul with free agency, that it may earn a happiness it else could never feel, and by this same gift you enable it to deserve a remorse it otherwise could never suffer.

Hence we cannot fail to see that the human being may be infinitely the most blissful of all beings within our sphere; or, on the other hand, infinitely the most wretched. All this might be affirmed of man as a solitary individual. But men

nowhere live in solitude. They have a social nature which necessitates their union into families, tribes, and nations, as gravitation necessitated the aggregation of chaotic atoms into planets. And in nations, every individual adds a unit to the factor that multiplies all capacities of good or evil. Hence the awful magnitude of a crime when nations put their strength into a wicked institution, or frame a wicked law, or strike a wicked blow. Hence the unimaginable suffering when a nation turns oppressor and invents and plies the enginery of wrong. For magnitude, for tenacious vitality, there are no crimes like national crimes. Individuals can debase individuals, but governments can brutalize a race. A wicked government makes agony epidemic in space and chronic in duration. It strikes a blow that stuns humanity for ages. Napoleon shortened the average stature of Frenchmen two inches, by selecting all the taller of his thirty millions of subjects and killing them in war. The British government lowered the forehead of the Irish Catholic peasantry two inches, by making it an offence punishable with fine, imprisonment, and with a traitor's ignominious death, to be the teacher of children in school; and by the cruel administration of her cruel laws she transposed their brain from the intellectual *fore-head* to the animal *hind-head*. False religions have dwarfed the hearts of men in an equal degree by their bloody rites and the shrivelling terrors of superstition. Such, hitherto, has been the current history of the world. Such is the condition, today, of the far greater portion of the world.

But can we not find relief from these frightful realities in a cheering anticipation that the curtain is soon to be dropped, and this world-tragedy of ours to be brought to a speedy close? Self-commissioned prophets have been constantly ris-

ing up who have predicted the dissolution of the earth, as though they themselves had made its machinery and wound it up, and therefore knew how long before it would run down. And this has been done for eighteen hundred years with a frequency and a dogmatism which perpetual disappointment is unable to check. Even some sober-minded people are haunted with the same delusion. We are so intensely egotistic that we measure other lives, and even the divine Life, by the hour-glass standard of our own, and hence make a calendar of months and years for the Eternal, as though the Everlasting could grow old. But what do all the wisest and the most religious men tell us respecting the chronology and longevity of our globe? The geologist traces back its natural history, age beyond age and epoch behind epoch, into such far-off periods of the past eternity that the imagination struggles in vain to conceive the remoteness of its origin. And it is not until science couches the vision that we see, in these limitless expanses of duration, a scope of time adequate to the grand operations of nature—time for the diffused material of chaos to gravitate itself into stars; time for frost and flood, for lightning and storm, to break down and triturate the rocks and fill up the valleys of Niles, and Amazons, and Mississippis with their rich mould; time for the auriferous mountains to be disintegrated and to cast their glittering treasures along the river-beds and over the vast alluvial deposits of California and Australia; and time for the forests to grow, out of which the coal-fields were made. And when the geologist has brought us over his vast tracts of duration to the present hour, what does the astronomer tell us respecting the durability of that mechanism of the stellar universe of which we are a part? He says that in addition to the revolution of moons around the primary planets, and in

addition to the revolution of the primaries around the central sun, our whole solar system itself is sweeping through an immense orbit around some other center, along a circumference so inconceivably vast that, during the six thousand years since the creation of Adam, the solar group has passed through but about one degree of the three hundred and sixty degrees that make but a single one of its mighty circuits. That is, it has performed, since the creation of the human race, but about one three-hundred-and-sixtieth part of a single revolution. When did ever even an earthly mechanic allow a wheel, which he had constructed, to make but one three-hundred-and-sixtieth part of its first revolution, and then stop it forever! The perfect motions of the heavenly bodies allow no friction, no wear and tear, productive of decay. Libration balances libration, and all eccentric movements pass through a cycle and return to their starting-place. It was supposed by Sir Isaac Newton that the moon was straying from its path by slow degrees whose accumulations of error after long ages would break up the equipoises of our system, and hence that it would require an outstretching of the almighty Arm to set it back in its place, as we mortals rectify the errors of a house-clock by moving its hands. But the French astronomer, La Grange, on revising the computations of Newton, found—what will always be found when man dares to question the workmanship of his Maker—that the error was not in the celestial machinery but in the earthly observer. The moon is faithful to a perfect law of motion; and however it may seem to us for a time to be wandering from its orbit, just as at the end of each lunation it might seem to an insect to be waning into final extinction, yet it is as sure to come back to its place in time as to return to its fullness of orb, while the error and the insect alike pass away forever.

No part of the natural world seems to grow old. The sun is not shorn of its brightness. The lightning lags not with decrepitude. To the ocean we say, "Time writes no wrinkle on thy azure brow." The briny flood distils as fresh water as ever. When this water has risen from the sea on the wings of evaporation, the winds diffuse it over the earth; then the cold condenses it into drops and gravitation brings it down to the surface. Here it nourishes all plants and sustains all life; and flows to the briny ocean again, thus passing through endless circuits of beneficence. Oh, how emblematic of its Maker's love! See, too, how the lungs of all the animal world fabricate the aliment that nourishes all the vegetable world. This aliment the vegetable world analyzes, restores it to healthfulness, and gives it back fitted for the uses of animal life; and thus each is constantly preparing a life-banquet for the other with unfailing reciprocity. What depths of alluvion stand ready to be converted into the varied treasures of Ceres and Pomona! And could these deposits ever be exhausted by transmutation into animal tissues, the decomposition of these tissues would restore them particle for particle, and atom for atom, to fill the alluvial basins again. No lightest corpuscle is lost. Nature's workroom and laboratory sweep out no refuse. The multitudinous host of agencies which God has stationed at every point of His domains—each a sentinel and a workman, too—never sleep at their posts and never fail to execute their exact duty in obedience to His unchangeable laws. Age never dims their sight, nor slackens their speed, nor weakens their force, nor abates their fidelity.

Suppose we should see a ship, strengthened against all tempests, equipped with all supplies, provisioned for years, with garments for all zones, with medicines for all diseased, with weapons against all foes, with means for all repairs, even

to the rebuilding of itself, could we suppose that such a ship had been fitted up for the half-holiday excursion of a summer's afternoon?

Now look at the human race, and see how little progress it has made toward the fulfilment of the beneficent design that prompted its creation. It is more than eighteen hundred years since Jesus Christ lived and taught upon the earth, and yet not one-half even of the present human race have ever so much as heard His name. Only one-third part of this race belongs to what is nominally called Christendom, by which word, if we would imply what its etymology implies, "the power or rule of Jesus Christ," it is the most extravagant hyperbole ever yet conceived by the mind of man. Look outside of this so-called Christendom, among the vast populations of Asia, of Africa, and of the islands of the sea; take a census of their idol-gods—malignant, not beneficent, divinities; behold their fetichism, their cannibalism, their organization into thuggery, which is a professed theocracy of robbery and murder; their wars for pillage and man-stealing; see how the natural unity of the race is cut asunder into castes; how the physical and moral laws of God are wrought and woven into all-comprehending systems of superstition and misgovernment; how the body and soul of man have been defaced, blackened, corrupted, until it seems impious any longer to say that such a race was created in the image of God. Then come within the pale of what calls itself Christendom, which needs a no less ample canvas for the portraiture of its sins. Here, read the first twelve verses of the Sermon on the Mount, and the last ten verses of the chapter in which that sermon is found; repeat the Lord's Prayer; and then, as the mariner takes an observation by looking at the heavenly bodies, so let us take an observation by looking at these heavenly

lights, that we may find witherward, according to the celestial chart, this self-called Christendom of ours is tending. Look into the marts of business, the halls of government, the framework of social relations. See how avarice overreaches with law or plunders without law; how fraud rises to wealth on steps made solid by perjuries; how governments are perverted from the welfare of the governed to the selfish ends of the rulers; how intemperance and licentiousness rage; how vice, though seeking for a hiding-place in our cities, yet reeks into publicity by the malaria evolved from its own fermentation; how the strong man oppresses his brother, and the strong nation makes war upon the weak one; look at the ruffian nations with their foot upon the bleeding breasts of Poland and Hungary which have ceased to sob but not to suffer; look at Africa's inheritance of bondage; behold, I say, this panorama of wickedness and woe outspread around us on every side, and then tell me whether it is time for any Christian man to say, "My warfare with iniquity is ended; let me gather my robes around me and lie down to rest."

Now, mute-wondering at this exquisite machinery of the universe which has run for so many myriads of years that are past, and seems capable of running for so many that are to come, and then surveying the immense scale of progress along which the whole mass of the human race is yet to be raised—first up to the neutral point of zero, by casting off its terrible crimes and degradations, and then above zero, by so elevating the spirit of man that, as the psalmist says, his delight will be in the law of the Lord—let us lay these two great ideas side by side, and then say whether the time for the earth's continuance seems too long for the work of human elevation.

Connected with this idea of an early dissolution of our earth, another idea is often dimly shadowed forth, that God will soon have begotten unto himself a sufficient number of sons and daughters to satisfy all his love for the human race and to fill his heavenly mansions, as though considerations of capacity in regard to his own heart and in regard to the upper courts must affix limits to the number of the blessed. Oh, the littleness of man's heart, capable of loving only by units and in successive emotions, and therefore contracting the infinite heart of God to the narrowness of his own! Oh, the meanness of man's thoughts, when he takes the foot-rule by which he measures his earthly dwelling, as his base-line of triangulation for measuring the amplitude of the heavenly temple! The music of hallelujahs which will rise to the Father of all from the offspring whom he has blessed will be too large for any arch or dome save that which Immensity can supply.

How long our race will continue upon this earth we know not. This is a secret in God's keeping. But this we do know, that however long the race as a whole may continue, each individual of it makes but a short sojourn before passing onward to his dread account. And one other thing we do know, that under God ancestors do predetermine and predestinate the character and fortunes of posterity. A generation modifies the character of its children far more than it does its own. The lateral force of human action, that is the influence of contemporaries upon contemporaries, is great; but the influence of predecessors upon successors is far greater. Here, every blow is stuck in the direct line of gravitation, and therefore the mighty laws of nature conspire with human force to give it such weight and momentum as will stamp its impress forever upon all it strikes.

And now, my friends, when I strive to compass in my mind these cardinal ideas—how blissful and how majestic the human race may become through a knowledge of God's laws and an obedience to them; how tormented and how mean they must also become through a violation of those laws; and how much of that majesty and that bliss, or of that torment and that meanness, depend upon us—I am inspired to labor, yea, to agonize, for their wellbeing, as though wherever I can open a channel for human good or bar up the avenues of human error, Omnipotence would pour out its strength through the channel for good and stand guard over the barriers against evil.

And this prepares me for the remark that such is the diffusive nature of human action that no limits can be affixed to the influences which the humblest institution or the humblest individual may exert. Some influences act more directly upon one department of human interests and some upon another. It is the high function of a college to act more or less upon all human interests and relations. A college acts upon youth and hence its influences radiate wherever youth go, and that in this country is everywhere. Its responsibilities are commensurate with its influences; and with a true man every responsibility is a new incitement to effort.

If then colleges act upon all the diversified interests of society by acting through youth, it becomes the most momentous of questions, what do youth need in order to become ministers of good to the world?

Physically, man is born in weakness. He is not the emblem of weakness but the thing itself. Yet, through the organs of his body, he holds relations to all material things. He is adapted to them and they to him—his eye to the light, his feet to locomotion, his muscles to resistance, gravitation, and

force. If man moves in harmony with the physical universe around him, it prospers and blesses all his works, lends him its resistless strength, endues him with its unerring skill, enriches him with its boundless wealth, and fills his body with strength, celerity, and joy. But woe to the people or the man who, through ignorance or through defiance, contends against the visible mechanism or the invisible chemistry of nature's laws. Whoever will not learn and obey these laws, her lightnings blast, her waters drown, her fires consume, her pestilences extinguish; and she could crush the whole human race beneath her wheels nor feel shock or vibration from the contact.

Intellectually, man is born in blank ignorance. To the infant, all knowledges are a nonentity. A few sensations make up all his consciousness. Yet, through his capabilities, he holds direct relation with all the truths and all the wisdom which God has materialized (if I may so speak) and incorporated into the frame of nature. The material universe is not matter alone. It is filled with scientific treasures, inconceivable, boundless, endless. Knowledge furnishes the keys by which the apartments of the temple containing these treasures can be unlocked. Hence, whoever will obtain the key of any of these apartments; that is, whoever will acquire a knowledge of the system to which he belongs, can command such riches as imperial or oriental despot never dreamed of. Some of these treasures have already been discovered, and they are now enjoyed in the products of those useful and elegant arts which distinguish civilized men from barbarians. But beyond the boundaries of our present knowledge, treasures of yet undiscovered wealth, gorgeous and incomputable, lie crowded and heaped together, compared with which the Gazas and Indies of the past are but the gauds and toys of

childhood. There they lie, all perfect, beautiful as truth herself, and only waiting for the coming of the great discoverer—the Bacon, the Columbus, or the Franklin of the future age—to reveal them and make new benefactions to mankind. Yet this same intellect, by obeying the fiery impulses of appetite and passion, may become the engine that sweeps itself and others to ruin.

Morally, man is born on the confines of two worlds, on the confines of a universe of joy and a universe of woe. As the infant lies unconscious before us, is it not appalling to reflect that obligations reaching through eternity have already attached to him? He is to live two lives. While the race lives he is to live on earth by the influences for good or for ill which he leaves behind him; and he is to live in another sphere, high or low, near to the central Perfection or afar off, as his nature shall be unfolded in harmony with, or in hostility to, the glorious attributes of that Perfection.

Now, it is the comprehensive duty of a college, so far as it can be done by human agency, to equip the youth whom it receives with terrestrial and with celestial armor to meet the tremendous exigences of their being. Above all, it is its duty to prepare them to equip themselves.

Listen to me, I pray you, while I endeavor to unfold these three classes of duties in their order.

All ethical and religious histories, all intellectual philosophies, mourn over the degeneracy of the human heart and the errors of the human mind. But were all the wrongs and calamities which pertain to the human race to be classified according to their more immediate relation to the body, the intellect, or the soul, I believe by far the greater proportion of them would be found to proceed immediately from the bodily appetites and propensities. This body of ours in which the

soul dwells—without which as human beings we can do nothing and are nothing—seems not less lost to its first estate of blessedness than either the mind or the heart. Of the three great channels through which depravity sends out its copious streams to corrupt the character of individuals and to blast the happiness of the race, the largest current has its head springs in the bodily appetites and passions. We weep and bleed at the terrible idea of “Adam’s fall.” As to the body, would to God there had been but one “fall.” But from Adam through all the generations to ourselves, what has it been but a series of cascades, plunge after plunge, and deep below depth! Would it not be the direst of indignities and blasphemies to suggest that God could ever have created a race so physically enervated, dwarfed, and gangrenous as ours is—not developed, but stunted; not beautiful, but deformed; not healthy, but instead of health, that appalling catalogue of diseases whose definitions crowd the shelves of the physician’s library and exhaust the copiousness of three languages for their nomenclature. These choleras, these plagues, these pale consumptions, these burning fevers, this taint and corruption of blood, which, after flowing underground for two or three generations, burst up from their subterranean passages to torment the lineage of guilty progenitors—were all these, do you say, implanted and indigenous in the first generations of men by God’s providence, or have they not all been since generated by man’s abuse? Congenital blindness, deafmutism, hydrocephalus, insanity, idiocy—did these come normally, through law, or by reason of the most flagrant violations of law? With one-fourth part of the human race dying before they attain the age of one year, what sacrilege to suppose that God said of such a race, “Let us make man in our own image,” and then added, “So God created man in his

own image; in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." Intemperance, gout, scrofula, and the through and through rottenness of the licentious man—did God enact laws which by their faithful observance would bear such fruits in clusters as the vine bears grapes? No! It is impiety to suppose it. Trace back the pedigree of any bodily pain, disease, or privation of sense, and its ancestor however remote will be found in some violation of God's physical laws, or in a culminating series of violations too wickedly great for individual enterprise. Through the temptation of a bodily appetite man first fell; and all theological schools, and Bible societies, and divine ministrations and ordinances will never reinstate him in his pristine purity until the laws of physical health shall triumph, by bringing the bodily appetites and passions within the domain of conscience and religion.

So universal and long-continued have been the violations of the physical laws, and so omnipresent is human suffering as the consequence, that the very tradition of a perfect state of health has died out among men. We are wonted to the presence of debility and pain. Religious men teach us to accept weakness and suffering as the appointed lot of humanity. Hence the conditions of health and longevity are not merely disregarded but ignored; and men of the profoundest learning on other subjects are here ignorant of elements. University professors know how to take care of the solar system, but do not know how to take care of their own systems. I admire the rules of prosody by which Greek and Latin verse flow into harmonious numbers; but I prefer the tuneful pulse which never makes an elision, to any music of classical scanning. I once knew a professor of rhetoric in an American college, who choked himself to death at a dinner party with

an undivided piece of mutton. He knew to a semitone the rhetorical proportions in which breath should be sent out of the lungs but was ignorant of the physiological quantities in which food should be taken into the stomach. Clergymen are forever exhorting us to keep our spirits clean and pure, and then in their outer man they exemplify their teachings by all the defilements of tobacco. They are Boanerges for the advancement of their own sect; but disdain companionship with that sect of the Nazarites who drank no wine. Statesmen and learned doctors debate and discuss the minor questions of political economy, but forget that a blight on public health is more pecuniarily disastrous than mildewed crops, and that the most adverse balances of trade are less impoverishing than the expenditures for sickness, the nonproductiveness of bodily imbecility, and the costs of vice and crime.

I hold it to be morally impossible for God to have created, in the beginning, such men and women as we find the human race in their physical condition now to be. Examine the book of Genesis which contains the earliest annals of the human family. As is commonly supposed, it comprises the first twenty-three hundred and sixty-nine years of human history. With childlike simplicity this book describes the infancy of mankind. Unlike modern histories, it details the minutest circumstances of social and individual life. Indeed it is rather a series of biographies than a history. The false delicacy of modern times did not forbid the mention of whatever was done or suffered. And yet over all that expanse of time—for more than one-third part of the duration of the human race—not a single instance is recorded of a child born blind, or deaf, or dumb, or idiotic, or malformed in any way! During the whole period not a single case of a natural death in infancy, or childhood, or early manhood, or even of middle manhood,

is to be found. Not one man or woman died of disease. The simple record is, "And he died"; or, he died "in a good old age and full of years"; or, he was "old and full of days." No epidemic, nor even endemic disease prevailed, showing that they died the natural death of healthy men and not the unnatural death of distempered ones. Through all this time (except in the single case of Jacob in his old age and then only for a day or two before his death) it does not appear that any man was ill, or that any old lady or young lady ever fainted. Bodily pain from disease is nowhere mentioned. No cholera infantum, scarlatina, measles, smallpox—not even a toothache! So extraordinary a thing was it for a son to die before his father that an instance of it is deemed worthy of special notice; and this first case of the reversal of nature's law was two thousand years after the creation of Adam. See how this reversal of nature's law has for us become the law; for how rare is it now for all the children of a family to survive the parents! Rachel died at the birth of Benjamin; but this is the only case of puerperal death mentioned in the first twenty-four hundred years of the sacred history. And even this happened during the fatigues of a patriarchal journey when passengers were not wafted along in the saloons of railcar or steamboat. Had Adam, think you, tuberculous lungs? Was Eve flat-chested or did she cultivate the serpentine line of grace in a curved spine? Did Nimrod get up in the morning with a furred tongue or was he tormented with the dyspepsia? Had Esau the gout or hepatitis? Imagine how the tough old patriarchs would have looked at being asked to subscribe for a lying-in hospital, or an asylum for lunatics, or an eye and ear infirmary, or a school for idiots or deaf-mutes! What would their eagle-vision and swift-footedness have said to the project of a blind asylum or an orthopedic

establishment? Did they suffer any of these revenges of nature against false civilization? No! Man came from the hand of God so perfect in his bodily organs, so defiant of cold and heat, of drought and humidity, so surcharged with vital force, that it took more than two thousand years of the combined abominations of appetite and ignorance—it took successive ages of outrageous excess and debauchery, to drain off his electric energies and make him even accessible to disease; and then it took ages more to breed all these vile distempers which now nestle, like vermin, in every organ and fibre of our bodies!

During all this time, however, the fatal causes were at work which wore away and finally exhausted the glorious and abounding vigor of the pristine race. At least as early as the third generation from Adam polygamy began. Intermarriages were all along the order of the day. Even Abraham married his half-sister. The basest harlotry was not beneath one of the patriarchs. Whole peoples, like the Moabites and Ammonites, were the direct fruit of combined drunkenness and incest between father and daughters. The highest pleasures and forces of the race gradually narrowed down into appetite and incontinence. At length its history becomes almost too shocking to be referred to. If its greatest men, its wisest men, its God-favored men, like David, could be guilty of murder for the sake of adultery, or like Solomon, could keep a seraglio of a thousand wives and concubines, what blackness can be black enough to paint the portrait of the people they ruled and the children they begat?

After the Exodus excesses rapidly developed into diseases. First came cutaneous distempers—leprosy, boils, elephantiasis, and so forth—the common effort of nature to throw visceral impurities to the surface. As early as King Asa that

right royal malady, the gout, had been invented. Then came consumptions and the burning ague, and disorders of the visceral organs, and pestilences—or, as the Bible expresses it, “great plagues and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses and of long continuance”—until, in the time of Christ, we see how diseases of all kinds had become the common lot of mankind by the crowds that flocked to him to be healed. And so frightfully, so disgracefully numerous have diseases now become that if we were to write down their names in the smallest legible hand, on the smallest bits of paper, there would not be room enough on the human body to paste the labels.

I have neither time nor desire to describe to you the pestilent streams, the “Dead Seas” of physical abomination through which our blood has flowed down to us, foul as Acheron for the purity of the soul, oblivious as Lethe for the vigor of the mind. Yet the cause and the occasion would refuse to pardon me should I not enforce our obligations to reelevate the race to bodily soundness by showing some passages of its loathsome descent. I take one example from Greece and one from Rome, the two foremost nations of European antiquity. Some passages in St. Paul’s epistles to the Corinthians will be best understood when it is known that Venus was the tutelary goddess of their city. She had a magnificent temple on the northern slope of the Acro-Corinthus. This mountain was covered with other temples, dedicated to inferior deities, and with the splendid mansions of the opulent. But the fame of Venus rose high above those of all other divinities and it was enjoined by Corinthian law that one thousand beautiful females should officiate as courtesans or prostitutes before the altar of this goddess of love. When calamity impended over city or nation, or when individuals

would propitiate the goddess in behalf of private enterprises, they vowed a certain number of courtesans for her service; and such vows were always fulfilled. Opulent men from surrounding nations flocked to a city whose merchandise was licentiousness. Hence ample revenues flowed into the public treasury; and hence that class of men who know no higher law than the law of Mammon and Venus applauded and sustained her civil polity. Corinth, as may well be supposed, became the most gay, dissipated, and corrupt, and so eventually, the most effeminate and feeble portion of Greece. Would you know something of Athenian manners and morals, look into Athenian literature, especially that of the stage.

For centuries it was no better in Rome. Matrons deemed respectable might be seen moving along the public streets in a state of complete nudity to witness festivals in honor of the gods, where such spectacles were exhibited as made simple nudity respectable and decent. In the splendid baths, reared by the prodigality of successive emperors, promiscuous bathing could be purchased at the price of a farthing. In crowded theatres, the cry of the audience "*Nudentur mimoe*," was instantly obeyed. All of religion that was left only served to exemplify the amours and licentiousness of the gods.

I cannot repeat what came later, was indescribably worse, sucked vast nations into its engulfing vortex, and has sent down its loathsome influences to corrupt the blood and enervate the brain of succeeding generations.

Every diseased man who bequeaths his maladies to his offspring; every drunkard who rears his children from his inflamed and corrupted blood; every licentious man who transmits his weakness and his wickedness as an inheritance of suffering, is another repetition of the fall of man.

From such causes, by adamant laws, and through un-

alterable predestinations, has come our present diluted and depleted humanity; effete, diseased, and corrupt of blood; abnormal, wasted, and short-lived; with its manliness so evaporated and its native fires so quenched that our present world, compared with what it should be and what it might be, is but a lazar-house of disease and an asylum for the feeble-minded. The imbecile races of Italy and Spain, the half-grown millions of India and Mexico, like river-mouths are only the foul drainage of ancestral continents, all gushing with fountains of debilitating and corrupting vices.

Then reflect that as the number of ancestors doubles at each ascending remove—two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, and so onward—there are, even at only the tenth degree, more than a thousand conduits of whose united streams each child is the receptacle; and how swollen with the feculence of all transmissible malignities, both of body and mind, must be his blood and brain.

Why, then, should we wonder that all our animal propensities are represented in our ethics; that mammon has been the Lycurgus of much of our civil polity; and that a denial of the great law of human brotherhood so often finds refuge and resting-place in our popular theology?

It has been somewhat generally conjectured that the early generations had some method of computing time very different from ours, and hence that the patriarchs from Adam to Noah—with one or two exceptions—did not, according to the literal record, live to the age of between nine hundred and a thousand years—afterwards gradually tapering down to between one and two hundred years at the time of the Egyptian vassalage.\* But it is a strong, if not a conclusive, argument in

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\* With their accustomed disregard of women, the Hebrew historians, with but an exception or two, never mention how old *they* were at the time of their death,

favor of a literal version, that if the race had not been created with ten times more vital force than it now possesses, its known violations of all the laws of health and life would, long ere this, have extinguished it altogether. So rapidly had it run down that at the time of David—about half way from Adam to the present day—he spoke of the average of human life as only threescore years and ten. Now, ask the bills of mortality and the life-insurance companies what its average is, and they will tell you that in Europe and in the United State it is but thirty years, and in great cities but twenty years.

Awful and unspeakable violations of God's laws have done this dreadful work. It is the violation of the laws of health and life, I emphatically repeat, which has cut down the years of man to this contemptible brevity, and harrows those years with pain; which surrounds the cradle with diseases that spring like wolves upon the infant at his birth, and which instead of the olden days when no child was dead-born, brings such multitudes into the world who, though they may not be dead-born as to breathing, are so as to intellect and heart. A joy that had wings and laughter once inhabited every joint and vital organ of man's frame. Pain has conquered this festive domain and turns human breath into sighs.

No other part of the organic world with which we are acquainted has suffered this dire change. Under intelligent culture the vegetable world is constantly outgrowing itself in size, beauty, and richness. All animal natures thrive, strengthen, and surpass the progenitors of their stock when subjected to the law of their being. Man alone, of all the earth, pales, and dwarfs, and sickens; begets children, the parti-colored tissue of whose existence is the woof of one disease woven into the warp of another; transmits insanity, and gout,

and consumption, and scrofula; procreates blindness, and deaf-muteness, and those human *fungi* the brainless idiots; spawns polished imbecility through our cities, which they, by their wealth, send to college to be converted into pillars of church and state. And why? Solely because man will break Heaven's laws; because for the sake of money or for pride, disease will marry, disease, and blood wed kindred blood; because when God commanded Adam *to work*—that is, to take some form of exercise *in the garden*, that is, in the open air—men will not exercise and will live in dwellings which add artificial poisons to natural ones, and then breathe the virulent compound. Popes and hierarchs send to Jordan to obtain "holy water" for the baptism of their children, that they may give their spirits a figurative cleansing, but will not keep them physically clean with the pure water at their door; and the royal sinner imports a few cubic yards of "holy earth" from Jerusalem in which that body of his may be buried, wherein sin has rioted and wantoned through all his life—as though they thought the Omniscient could be cajoled into forgetfulness of the difference between "holy water" or "holy earth" and the pure in heart and the obedient in life.

But besides defying all the laws of God in regard to pure air, cleanliness, diet, exercise, and the selection of healthful occupations and healthful sites for residences, besides these sins of omission, how numberless are the sins of commission which we commit—sins which are expelling all manly power and womanly endurance from the race. To say nothing of the stimulants taken in our common morning and evening beverages (which are no more necessary or useful to enable healthy men or women to perform their labor than a morning dram is for the lark or the eagle, for the buffalo or the

leviathan); to say nothing of these, the people of this nation annually madden their brains with two hundred millions of gallons of intoxicating liquors, and not only stupefy and defile themselves, but transmit irritable nerves and contaminated blood to their children by the consumption of more than thirty million dollars worth of tobacco. Of this immense sum, squandered for this foul and abominable weed, it is estimated by Dr. Cole, an able writer on physiology, that the members of the church of Jesus Christ take five million dollars worth for their share. It is an indisputable fact that, taking the whole United States together, much more money is expended for the single article of cigars than for all the common schools in the Union. Cigars against schools; cigars against the great cause of popular education; and appetite triumphs over intellect and morals! And where these natural poisons of alcohol and tobacco are used most freely, the church and the school-house are seen most rarely. I say nothing of opium and other narcotics. And, after quenching still more the expiring embers of vitality that yet glimmer in the race, and corrupting its corruption to a more malignant type, we call ourselves civilized and (may Heaven pardon the audacity!) Christian. Are those the practices of civilization which honeycomb the bones and leave the muscles sodden, while they irritate the nerves and evaporate electricity from the brain? Is that Christianity which obeys the ceremonial law rather than the eternal; which asks the blessing of Heaven upon its food and then gorges itself like a wolf; which offers the morning prayer but all the day long passes unheeding by the hungry, the naked, the sick, and by the prisoner's door? The time will come when men will speak of Christian and un-Christian health, as they do now of Christian and un-Christian character.

For all these ancestral sins posterity suffers through all its organism and in every endowment. We suffer for the offences of our progenitors; our descendants will suffer for ours. The self-justifying ancestor may asseverate that his surfeits of viands and wines and his indulgence in narcotics do him no harm, but three generations afterward, delirium and gout will shriek out their denial in his great-grandchildren.

Now let the man who would fear God and work righteousness survey this subject in its comprehensiveness and its solemnity. As was before said, the larger portion of the crimes against morality and religion—crimes which savor of the second death—germinate in what we call the bodily propensities. Intemperance and concupiscence beget the vilest forms of selfishness—beget rebellion against God and the crime of not loving man. Look at the catalogue of offences which the moralist defines in his ethics, or the lawgiver denounces in his penal code—at once so tropical in their luxuriance and so Tartarean in their fruits; the murders, the incendiarisms and the nameless and numberless inhumanities of intemperance; the harems of the Mussulman and the polygamies of the Mormon; the illegitimate births, the infanticides, and the crimes to forestall infanticide; the organized haunts in our great cities where iniquity is transacted by night as business is transacted in the market-places by day; and then reflect that these are but random specimens of those offences that come from the lusts of the flesh and the lusts of the eye. Yet these are the crimes that block up the pathway of education, and turn the sweetest persuasions of the gospel and its most appalling alarms into empty sounds in the ears of men. In view of all this it is no extravagance to say that our youth need physiological knowledge as a preventive both against the debilities of ill health and the ferocities of animal passion

as much as they need literary and scientific knowledge against the calamities of ignorance and superstition, or religious training for the love and service of God.

However well-intentioned men may become under the influence of literary and religious institutions, yet when the bodily organization is weak the power of virtuous effort is proportionably enfeebled. In a languid frame, benevolence and piety themselves degenerate into reverie or barren contemplation. Sickly men dare not take the field and wage battle with their satanic foes. If money-changers invade the temple, they cannot scourge them out. If wicked men build distilleries or kidnap Africans, they can only write a moral tract or sing a pious song and let distiller and kidnapper go on. Next after heaven the brave heart of Martin Luther had its reenforcements from his strong frame. All along the life-way of a pure-minded but feeble-bodied man, on the right hand and on the left, his path is lined by memory's grave-stones, which mark the spots where benevolent enterprises perished and were buried through lack of physical vigor to embody them in deeds.

*"'Tis then a painful sense comes on,  
Of something wholly lost and gone;*

*Of something from our being's chain  
Broke off, not to be linked again."*

If it be a solemn duty to keep the spirit pure, as a sanctuary for the Most High; if heart and soul and mind are to be devoted to the service of God and of our fellowmen; then who can overstate our responsibility to keep the body—through which alone and by which alone the highest achievements of

practical heroism can be won upon earth—in the robustest working and militant condition. Oh, if piety, like the army, kept a sick-list, what a populous hospital it would show! Well did the apostle say “Let not sin, therefore, reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey the lusts thereof.” Well did he urge his followers onward by telling them that “every man that striveth for the mastery (in the race) is temperate in all things.” Well did he exhort all who called themselves by the name of Christ to present their “bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God.” And well did he set forth what was, perhaps, the greatest of all his achievements: “I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection, lest by any means when I have preached to others I myself should be a castaway.”

Now think for a moment what mankind would gain were they relieved from early decrepitude and from the weakness and bondage of earlier bodily ailments. What elasticity would be given to muscle, what vision to mind, what pinions to genius! What can the consumptive man do in felling a forest by the side of the hardy pioneer, the one exhausting his strength on a sapling, the other mowing the trees into wind-rows. The tall man stretches his hand and plucks the fruit without an effort which the child would perish before he could reach. It is just so with the tall mind compared with the short one. No combatants are so unequally matched as when one is shackled with error while the other rejoices in the self-demonstrability of truth; yet when virtue contends with vice for the extirpation of social abuses, or for the advancement of great reforms, how often do the strong-bodied reprobates vanquish the weak-bodied saints. In all the higher departments of invention and discovery, in the soarings of genius, and in the exultant aspirations of sentiment, all well-

organized and healthy persons rise as by natural buoyancy to the sublimities of an upper sphere, whither imbecility or mediocrity of strength, with all their strivings, can never soar.

Half of what passes among men for talent is nothing but strong health. I do not here so much refer to the sound man's power of mastering truths by intuition, which the sickly arrive at only by long painstaking, as to his ability of persistence in holding on to any work after weaker hands are forced to let go; his power of continuing the chase for a noble prize after weaker limbs faint, or of stretching the vision on and on after common eyes swim and darken.

Besides, about the same amount of time must always be lost in coming to the age of maturity, whether the available period of subsequent life be cut down to twenty years or extended to a hundred.

I often used to wonder why the moderns, with all our accumulations of power derived from the sciences; with such an expansion of the useful arts, by which, through the medium of machinery, we train the forces of nature to do the far greater portion of our work, and with a consciousness every way so much richer than belonged to antiquity—I have often wondered, I say, why the moderns, with these incalculable advantages, are comparatively so little in advance of the ancients. Not only in the sayings of the wise men of old, but in the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum, in the decipherings of Champollion, and in Layard's exhumed wonders of Nineveh, there are such proofs of wisdom, of genius, and of skill—such intuitions into the very heart of things—as give a transient plausibility to the old hyperbole that there is nothing new under the sun. With the experiences and discoveries of all past times treasured in our books; with our

alliance and copartnership with the powers of nature; with the beacons of ancient error to warn, and the illuminations of ancient wisdom to direct, our advance beyond all our ancestors ought to be immeasurably greater than it now is. The only solution of the painful problem is this: That all our immense advantages have but a little more than indemnified us for the appalling degeneracy of our physical strength and our mental intuitions. The improved external world of nature and art have been almost cancelled by the deteriorated internal world of vigor and insight.

I must dwell upon this topic no longer now, unexhausted though it be. Yet when I ponder upon the wealth of human happiness that lies folded within it, I am almost tempted to call upon the student to leave his learning, and the philosopher his science, and the clergyman his theologies, and first teach men how to obey the laws of God in their physical frames—how to glorify Him in their bodies as an accompaniment, if not a prerequisite, to glorifying Him in their spirits.

Oh, how beautiful is the ever-changing and ever-renewing beauty of health!—the marmorean repose of infantile sleep; the singing gladness of childhood; the exultant and sometimes wayward impulses of youth, intoxicated and bewildered by varieties of joy; the firm, right onward march of manhood, unbarbed by an arrow of pain; and uncrippled age at last, venerable in its serene and lofty front—how beautiful are they all! Less beautiful is the clear-springing fountain, with its flower-adorned brink; less noble the mighty river, cleaving its mountain-barred passage to the deep, and less reflective of all the glories of Heaven, its outspreading and calmer current as it lapses and dies into the sea!

A second grand want of the human being in this world of ours is the development of his mental faculties with skill to

use them. There are two ways of making the mind more powerful. The first is by improving the bodily constitution or physical organization of the race so that, with more healthy bodies, we may have stronger minds; and the second is by giving all the skill and efficiency we can to such mind as there is, whether it be the miserable mind that belongs to a weak race or the powerful mind that belongs to a strong one. The first is the work of physiology; the second, of education.

Of the necessity of mind, what need have I to speak? I might as well speak of the necessity of air to the bird's wing, or of water to the fish's fin. Almighty Mind guides the universe. As to this earth, just in proportion to the development and culture of man's intellect, he participates in that guidance. Knowledge enables him to lay his hand upon the great machinery which God has constructed, and to direct its movements for his own benefit.

Hence, in order to be fitted for our present sphere we need mind—the clear-shining and far-shining of the luminous intellect. If we would find new constellations in the heavens, or discover new features in stars already known, we demand a telescope of greater space-penetrating power. No longings, no night-watchings, no aspirations, will ever enable us to see one inch beyond the capacity of our glass. Give me a “larger eye,” says the astronomer, and I will reveal to you another rank of worlds marshalled behind those whose shining hosts you now behold. Rear stronger minds, says the lover of light and truth, and they will lift up the race to sublimer heights of dignity and power. In this way we shall obtain thought-producing, instead of thought-repeating, men. Mind is immeasurably more valuable than any form of material wealth. For one such man as Arkwright, or Fulton, or Sir Humphry Davy, the world could afford, if it had them, to

give a hundred Californias, and pay them down. One such man as Whitney is worth more than all the common schools of New England ever cost. If the mere doctrine of chances, if what we call mere fortuity, would turn up one such Christian patriot and statesman as John Quincy Adams once in a hundred years, it would reward all the bravery and pay for all the perils of the *Mayflower*.

Now on this topic there are two or three great principles to be brought into view, in whose light the pathway of human duty becomes radiant.

In the first place, there is no increase of absolute truth in the universe and there can be none. The number of minds that know truth may be indefinitely increased, but there can be no more truth to be known. All truth pre-existed in the Divine Mind. The creation of the visible universe, with the formation of the countless orders of beings that dwell in it, did not create truth; it only displayed it. It only made those things objective, in the splendors of creation, which before were subjective in the Divine Mind. The race knows vastly more now than it ever knew before, and will doubtless go on redoubling its stores. But He who was always infinite cannot be more than infinite now. He who was always omniscient cannot know more in the future eternity than He did in the past. We speak of men as making new and wonderful inventions and discoveries. We cannot speak so of the Deity. Truth, therefore, is not progressive though finite beings may be forever progressive in acquiring truth.

Ever since the creation of Adam the heavens have been as full of starry glories as they will be tonight. The distant constellations shot their arrows of light into human eyes as they do now. Why, then, were the power and glory of God so long belittled and vilified by the universal conviction that

the sky arched itself but a few furlongs over our heads, and that all the wealth of the heavens, as was supposed in the time of Ptolemy, consisted in but a thousand stars? Why were the moons of Jupiter, the fluid rings of Saturn, the orbs of Uranus and Neptune, and the vast islands of light that move in their appointed spheres through the immensity of space, whose beams with all their lightning speed are supposed to have been millions of years in reaching our earth—why were all these grandeurs and glories of Jehovah a nonentity to man? There they stood, rank behind rank, in vaster circles, refulgent through all the ages as at present, a fit frontispiece to the volume of God's goodness and power; but human eyes beheld them not and human hearts were not lifted up to God by their majesty and splendor. The race waited for the great minds that should lay open these starry depths of heaven. The minds came, the depths were laid open, and the celestial light blazed down upon us to attest the power and beneficence of the Creator, and again to make all the sons of God shout together for joy.

It is so in regard to all things. In all philosophies, in all theologies, in all principles of whatever kind, there are now just as many absolute truths in existence as there ever will be. There they exist, more valuable to man than zones of gold, sweeter in affections than unfallen Eden, sublimer than any Patmos yet revealed to man; and the problem which we have to work is to prepare the men who can discover these more glorious truths just as men prepared the telescopes by which the pre-existent stars were discovered. The truths whose shining faces no mortal hath yet seen are no less real and they will be no less freighted with blessings when they come than those by which we have been already gladdened and improved. But they lie beyond the frontier of our pres-

ent knowledge and therefore, as yet, are useless to mankind. We need the minds and therefore we must rear the minds which can push forward this frontier of knowledge so as to bring these truths with all their benefactions from the further to the hither side of the line, from the barren possibility of being enjoyed into actual, realized enjoyment.

To suppose the contrary of all this would be to suppose that we had already exhausted the wisdom which God incorporated into the frame of nature and of ourselves; and with our nutshell capacities, had laden dry the ocean of omniscience. No! for while the world stands the topmost heights of science will never be reached; there will be no last avatar of genius.

What the human mind has already achieved by availing itself of the bounties of nature has been often said and sung in eloquence and poetry. Man wanted more labor than he could himself perform, and then not by superior strength but by superior mind, he domesticated and trained the animals—the ox for strength, the horse for fleetness. These were not enough, and so he enslaved his fellow-man. But intellect saw mightier powers in the elements than in any muscles of beast or slave; and now gravitation strikes our blows in the ponderous hammer, and steam cleaves the billows or rushes across the land to bear our burdens or ourselves. The winds once swept by the savage useless as the fleecy clouds they wafted on their bosom; but mind has trained them to bear the bark of the explorer to every part of the earth, and to waft the commerce of the world. The lightning once came only to terrify and blast; but now it executes costly embellishments in the shop of the artificer, and bears messages of intelligence and affection wherever the telegraphic wire is stretched. Man prepares and arranges

a few wheels and by His agents of air, and water, and fire God turns the machinery by day and by night to supply our persons and our dwellings with the fabrics of comfort and elegance. To form the strawberry, the peach, or the grain of wheat, the elementary atoms of which they consist traverse continents and come from every zone. By what we call the laws of chance, how few of these atoms would ever meet and mingle to form our nectarious fruits or our nutritious harvests. But the agricultural art summons its infinitesimal hosts—the mineral from the earth, the gases from the air, the water from the clouds, the light from the sky—leads them through all the subtle and mysterious channels of vegetable growth and elaborates them into all the golden harvests of the year. What fulness of granary and storehouse, what freights for ships and car, come from agricultural knowledge—that is, from mind—where once the barrenness of earth and the barrenness of ignorance spread a common solitude. Mind, too, has the still nobler power of improving itself, and of spreading a glory of health and strength over the whole body with which it works. Thus, through navigation and printing, through the steam-engine and the telegraph, through agriculture and chemistry, through vaccination and chloroform, has intellect lifted mankind a little way out of barbarism. We see the riches of those apartments in God's temple which science has already unlocked. Through physiology and through education we must rear the intellects that can unlock inner apartments filled with the more gorgeous treasures of the infinitely benevolent Giver.

The ancients were so religiously impressed with the displays of elemental forces that they personified them into divinities. In their theology, the earth became populous with gods and goddesses. Each river had its river-god. Apollo

shone in the sun. Boreas howled in the northern blasts. Jupiter threatened in the lightning and struck in the thunder-bolt. The ancients advanced the elements into gods by deifying their attributes.

Anglo-Saxon egotism has gone to the opposite extreme. We boast of conquering and subduing the forces of nature. What the ancients worshipped as gods, we speak of as captives and slaves. In our self-complacency, we talk of imprisoning the elements to make them do our bidding. We boast of turning the lightning into an errand-boy; of using gravitation as our pile-driver; of tasking rivers and winds to grind our mills.

How different from all this is the view of the Christian philosopher! How much more *filial*, that is, how much more religious, in us; how much more honoring to God, to look upon all the mightier energies of nature as His gracious gifts to His children; our allies and not our foes; as never griping to withhold, but always standing open-handed to give whenever we will ask them in the language of science, the only language they understand. They were created to supplement our weakness, to lend their velocities to our tardy limbs, to work for us when we are weary or asleep. Indeed is it not both the grander and the truer view to regard the mighty organisms of nature as only part and parcel of the human organism—as only more gigantic limbs, more ponderous, and farreaching, and swift-moving instruments with which to carry on the supereminent work of elevating and ennobling the human soul? Man has been called a microcosm, a little world, as though he were the epitome or adjunct of the earth, instead of the earth, with all its mighty energies, being his adjunct or instrument. Are the powers of nature any the less our powers because there are some of them which we

have not yet learned how to use? What part of the body of an infant does its soul, at the first, know how to use? Not one. Its limbs lie flaccid and inert. Its liveliest senses make no response to light or sound. It is only by slow degrees that the informing spirit takes possession of its tenement and begins to work its wondrous machinery. It just turns the eye, lifts the hand, moves the foot. Now it walks, now runs, and anon it climbs mountains and circumnavigates the globe, levels forests to let in sunshine and cultivation, rifts open granite hills for cities and temples, and scatters libraries, galleries, and fleets from its fingers' ends. In the same slow way and in perfect analogy to the infant's progress in getting the use of its own limbs is the infant intellect of the world now diffusing itself outward through the frame of nature and getting the use, one after another, of its tremendous energies. Already the Titan begins to feel his strength. Already he uses gravitation as his heel of iron and fists of porphyry. The lightning is his nervous fluid, which darts along new fibres of electric wire to write out his will through the machinery of his outer fingers a thousand miles off, or to shout in the ears of half a million of sleepers that their city is on fire. Beyond the short-sightedness of his bodily eye nature supplies the laws and means for a telescopic eye, whose lens is not of a six-line, but of six-feet diameter; and, lo! what an infinity of glorious worlds greets his enfranchised vision. The corporeal eye cannot see in darkness; but what is the magnet but another eye of his from which no thickest cloud or dazzling sunlight can hide the polestar? He cannot see corpuscles and monads; but under the microscope, atoms before invisible start up into new worlds of vegetation and zoology. Surpassing all fictions of winged chariots, he is borne across seas and lands in chariots without wings. Whether he wills to have

fruits from the tropics or spices from Araby, or diamonds from Golconda, the winds are his breath and waft them whither he will; and at his volition a crystal palace becomes a show case for the wonders and beauties of a planet. The flying images of all visible things with which all sunlight is filled, he catches at will by the Daguerrean art and preserves them for his own. With his vocal organs he can address but a few thousand men and in an instant that voice dies away and is gone; but with his other multiform tongue, the printing-press, he speaks, and as his glittering words fly forth on wings of wind and fire they are seen by millions of men and whatever of wisdom is spoken is graved on tablets of stone for the ages. The rivers and the fires are his strength. They wheel his ponderous machinery or hammer in his Cyclopean forges; and like the blood in his own veins or the warmth in his own bosom, they rest not from their service day nor night. The chemical atoms, classified and assorted by his intellect and mingled and medicated into unerring chemical proportions by his agricultural skill, come together not only to diversify the outward world with the riches and beauty of corn and fruit, but to begin the great processes of being transmuted, through the wonderful alchemy of life, from marl and metal and rock into muscles and lungs and brains. Nay, in some things man seems to do more than to own and employ the energies of nature as though they were part of himself. From his full sensorium he forces thought and activity into the brute materials around him. If a chronometer or a calculating machine cannot think, yet how many thoughts are there in them! What is that assemblage of inventions which crowd the halls of patent offices but exemplifications how the soul of man is working outward into nature, endowing it with the capacities of life and organizing its massive

bulk, fibre after fibre, into more than Archimedean forms of skill and more than Briarean arms of strength? Nor is he forbidden to extend his power over life itself. At his will the valleys are covered with cattle or the air is filled with birds; or as by a recent and almost creative discovery the rivers of a continent swarm with new piscatory life.

And thus, I say, the soul of man is feeling its way outward, beyond his own body, into the body of nature. By his compelling thoughts, acting through mathematical, chemical, and organic laws, he is preparing new organs of sense and new instruments of power; getting a larger eye and a mightier arm and a lightning swiftness of foot; learning to use crushing weights and upheaving expansions, and to multiply ten thousand fold the means of subsistence, of culture, and of moral elevation. His spirit, after penetrating and vivifying his own frame, penetrates and vivifies the frame of nature around him.

*"Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus,  
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."*

And, lo! in achieving this work of might and splendor, the noblest fruit of all is the mind's own simultaneous elevation to dignities and grandeur unknown before. However far the soul penetrates into the deep recesses of the earth; however far it sets back the canopy of the heavens, revealing vaster panoramas of the glory of God; with whatever of guidance it directs the elements or incorporates its thoughts into insensate matter; or into whatever new forms of power and beauty it organizes and embellishes the earth—with all this amplitude and adornment, it first enlarged and enriched itself. Self-improvement must precede all other improvement. Whatever miraculous creations have been scattered over im-

ments by the Divine Hand, all must first have existed in the Divine Thought. The maker is always greater than the fabric made. And so it is with men. Whatever new wonders of art or genius or utility are yet to enrich the world, all must first have their prototypes and models in the gorgeous chambers of the brain.

As each generation comes into the world devoid of knowledge, its first duty is to obtain possession of the stores already amassed. It must overtake its predecessors before it can pass by them. The parents may be magi for learning; their infant child will not know his alphabet—not know that he needs one. The former may be able to give nations a dowry of wisdom and prosperity; the latter must first learn how to keep himself out of fire and water. In learning there is no exclusive heirship. No last will and testament can bequeath genius; and the son of a Bacon may be a dolt. In our time it is no small labor to bring the children up to the knowledge of their fathers. But we are not to stop where we are. We have but just got a foothold on the infinitude of God's knowledge and wisdom—just trod upon the outer verge of His illimitable realms. No natural impediment forbids our turning what is now Divine Knowledge into human knowledge. We may ascend Pisgahs after Pisgahs, and enter Canaans after Canaans, yet forever see before us new Pisgahs to be ascended, and Canaans flowing with the milk and honey of a diviner wisdom to be made our own.

To accomplish these high purposes the college is demanded. It is our duty not only to see that the present stream of knowledge brims its banks, but to make it overflow those banks and spread richer alluvion over wider intervals; and for every league of its future course to pour in mighty confluent of new discoveries, from the right hand and from the

left, that its current may grow deeper and broader forever!

But *can* coming generations add indefinitely to previous acquisitions? All the realms of thought shout an affirmative reply. It is a saying attributed to Euclid that there is no royal road to learning. This adage I must deny. Knowledge is communicated and acquired indefinitely better and faster in one way than in another—through such a language as the English than through such a language as the Chinese; by the synthesis of elements than through the analysis of masses; by means of the eye rather than of the ear; by building with the solid masonry of reason on the rock bottom of intuition or principle instead of the castle-building of memory. Dugald Stewart said that a young man could now learn in two years all the mathematics known to the ancients. It is most fortunate that he has not to unlearn what they thought of astronomy or meteorology or physics in general. There *is*, then, a royal road to knowledge; and educators will find one more right royal still—that is, one shorter and more firmly trod—and, therefore, so far as it regards knowledge, we should erect our statue to the god Terminus, face forward, and set it on wheels. The immigrant who trudges afoot with his pack on his back, or trundles the barrow that contains all his earthly goods, may as well deny that there is any better method of travel or of transport than his, while the earth-vibrating locomotive at his heels shakes the falsehoods out of his mouth.

God's heart is full of new mechanical and new physical blessings for the race. He only waits for the fulness of time when physiology and education shall produce the *men* with talent and genius worthy to be the medium of their transmission to mankind. God knew the weight of the atmosphere and the law of gravitation; he saw this western continent;

he knew how books could be printed, how cloth could be woven by machinery, and how lightning would run through iron, as well in the time of Solomon and Socrates, as since; but in the order of his providence he had to wait for Torricelli and Newton, for Columbus and Faustus, for Arkwright and Franklin, before he could bless mankind by the bestowment of that knowledge. In the same way he waits for us through a knowledge of the laws of physiology and education and an obedience to them, to rear the new men for the new blessings. Man's ideas of the earth are yet to be as much changed by chemistry as his ideas of the heavens have been by astronomy. Chemistry will yet beautify the earth as much as astronomy has glorified the heavens.

For augmenting the aggregate amount of intelligence and mental power in any community, the grandest instrumentality ever yet devised is the institution of common schools. The common school realizes all the facts or fables, whichever they may be, of the divining-rod. It tries its experiments over the whole surface of society, and wherever a buried fountain of genius is flowing in the darkness below, it brings it above, and pours out its waters to fertilize the earth. Among mankind, hitherto, hardly one person in a million has had any chance for the development of his higher faculties. Hence whatever poets, orators, philosophers, divines, inventors, or philanthropists may have risen up to bless the world, they have all risen from not more than one millionth part of the race. The minds of the rest, though equally endowed with talent, genius, and benevolence, have lain outside the scope of availability for good. These millions, with the exception of the units, have been drudges, slaves, cattle, their bodies used, their souls unrecognized. Ah! nowhere else has there been such waste and loss of treasure as in the waste and loss

of the human faculties. All spendthrift profusions, all royal prodigalities, are parsimony and niggardliness compared with the ungathered, abandoned treasures of the human soul. As civilization has advanced, perhaps one child in a hundred thousand, and in more favored nations, one child in ten thousand, has been admitted to the opportunities of knowledge. Forthwith the men capable of constructing the institutions or the engines of human improvement and adornment appeared; and in numbers, too, far beyond the proportionate share of the constituencies from which they sprung. But if, instead of striking the fetters of prohibition from one in a hundred thousand, or from one in ten thousand, those fetters are stricken from all, and incitements to exertion and aids to self-development are supplied to all, then immediately, quick as water gushes from unsealed fountains, Shermans rise up from the shoemaker's bench, Beechers come from the blacksmith's anvil, and Bowditches and Franklins from the ship-chandler's and the tallow-chandler's shop, and a new galaxy shines forth over all the firmament of genius. These are truths which the uneducated nations do not understand—truths, too, which the caste-men, whether of birth or of wealth, do not wish to understand.\*

It is in this way that the common school awakens talent and sets it in motion. And when once the inward impetus of native talent is aroused, you may as well attempt to stop the whirling of a planet as to arrest the possessor of that gift.

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\* "To the more advanced half of Christendom, the prizes voted at the London Fair (the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851), by the juries and by the Council of Presidents were *one hundred and four*.

"To the less advanced half of Christendom, the prizes voted by the same tribunal were *two*.

"To the totality of non-Christian nations, composing two-thirds of the whole human race, *nothing*."—*Report of the French Commissioners to the Industrial Exhibition*.

Then comes the function of a college to guide, replenish, and speed it on in its immortal career.

And here open upon us the great utilitarian views of education as a preliminary to its higher and nobler spiritual functions. As we survey the present condition of the world, and look forward to the wellbeing of posterity, we find problems to be solved which virtue alone can never solve, which piety alone can never solve, but for which only knowledge, talent, genius—that is, intellect—can furnish the solution. The coming generations are to be fed, clothed, and sheltered, not miserably, as the aborigines were, by the precarious chase of the earth's spontaneous growths, not in skins and caves, but with abundance and certainty, with comfort and elegance. The heathen humanity heaped up in all our great cities, six stories high—in Edinburgh I have seen it eleven stories high—the wretched inmates of the Irish mud-house, of the Hottentot kraal, and of the Tartar tent are to be provided with a decent home for every family. Mankind at large are to be educated, not a few beloved Benjamins, but all the sons—and *all the daughters, too*—and all inconceivably above our present standards. The libraries of which our cities are now proud must exist in all our towns. Apparatus for explaining the wonders of nature, museums, cabinets, gardens, such as now enrich our colleges, must be the possession of our schools. The means of mental and moral growth must come and stand around our children and youth unasked and unpurchased as air and light now come to their cradles. All heathen lands are to be civilized and Christianized; and what we now call civilization and Christianity are to be purified and elevated into forms indefinitely higher than at present prevail.

Now what vast expenditures of money, what a long series

of instrumentalities, what an immense apparatus of natural means, even before we come to the use of moral means, does such a catalogue of enterprises, or rather of necessities, imply! Judging according to present standards and only including what is absolutely essential to the wellbeing of the body, to the training of the mind and the culture of the heart, it may be safely affirmed that spontaneous nature and spontaneous intellect—that is, uncultivated nature and uneducated intellect—do not furnish, and never can furnish, one ten-thousandth part of the supplies indispensable for such a race as its Maker need not to be ashamed of—need not to repent Him that He had ever made. I speak literally. I desire this to be taken as a statement, unhyperbolic and uncolored, that without the dynamic forces of nature acting through some form of apparatus or machinery and doing the work of the world; without the chemical forces of nature acting through the art of agriculture and producing the sustenance of the world; and without the schoolhouse and the college, with kindred seminaries, developing the mind of the world, there would not be, even according to our present low standards, one ten-thousandth part of a sufficiency, either of bread for the body or of bread for the soul, to enable the human race to appear decently in any part of the universe that can call itself respectable. Without both natural and mental resources, such as can alone come from a knowledge of those laws which God has inwrought into the frame of nature and of ourselves, and without some good degree of obedience to them also, the whole human race would have to be abandoned in commercial phrase as a total loss. Where then are the other nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine parts of the things indispensable to raise us above our present constructive civilization and constructive Christianity to come from? They

are to come from the human intellect! God gave a few fruits, the berry, and the root, for food; he gave the fountain for thirst and the cave for shelter; and then for the sustenance, the self-protection, and the self-aggrandizement of the race, he gave the rest in the faculties of the human mind! Marvelous complement of human weakness and ignorance; miraculous resource of infinite and never-ending bounty!

Why were not the aborigines, who so lately traversed these regions as well equipped in all the necessities, comforts, conveniences, and luxuries of life as we are? They, not less than we, trod an earth whose ribs were covered ten feet thick with alluvial fatness. For them as much as for us, incomputable hoards of metal and mineral had been laid up in subterranean chambers. The same winds swept across the lakes and the same streams poured down the valleys then as now. They also were endowed with the same faculties of intellect. But they had never learned the agricultural arts by which the centillions of centillions of primary atoms which were lying at random in the ground or running vagrantly in the streams or floating uselessly in the air could be summoned together into the gluten and farina, the albumen and phosphorus, into the hues and forms of all our varied plants and bulbs and grains, all medicated for the stomach, flavored for the palate, and beautified for the eye. Their undeveloped mind had never taught their unskilled hand to make that other hand, the mechanic's chest of tools, which has ten thousand fingers on it, to cut and saw and bore and shape and polish; nor that other hand, which has ten thousand wheels for fingers which can card and spin and weave and knit and sew; nor any other of the Briarean hands or arms of genius, which can do the work of the world, whether in the shop or in the mill, on the land or on the sea, from polishing a needle to forging the

shaft of a steamship; from turning a gimlet to tunneling a mountain; from cutting a thread to reaping a prairie; from measuring a field to measuring the heavens.

The American Bible Society is said to have printed, during the thirty-seven years of its existence, nine millions of Bibles and Testaments. Now reflect that this number, great as it may seem, is but about one copy for every one hundred souls on the globe; and as in the meantime more than an entire generation has passed away, if we allow ten years as the average existence of a book before it is worn out or lost, it would leave less than one copy for every four hundred souls. In the seven hundred public libraries which now exist in these United States, there are only about two millions of volumes, which is but one volume for every twelve persons in the Union, instead of fifty or more volumes for every person as there ought to be. Think, then, what a work it must be, not only to prepare the sacred Scriptures for all the children of men, but to scatter books as they must yet be scattered like autumn leaves over the earth; to dot the five continents with schoolhouses, as New England is dotted, and to supply them with all the higher institutions of learning, better than New England is supplied; to turn iron, marble, and oak, to turn wool, flax, and silk, to turn carbon, hydrogen, and nitrogen, into abundant materials for human shelter, raiment, and food, and thus to furnish not scanty necessities only but all comforts and embellishments to every household on the globe, and so relieve the slave, the serf, and the hunger-goaded freeman from so much of toil as is incompatible with culture, elevation, and enjoyment.

Now, for all that has been done in these various ways to improve the condition of the race, intellect, teeming with its observant and combining powers, has been the prerequisite.

Without the saw-mill and the nail-factory, how could our houses be built; without the spinning-jenny and the power-loom, how could our clothes be supplied; and without the power-press and the paper-machine, how could our newspapers and our books be printed?

How worthless in themselves are the materials from which glass is made, but how beautiful the product! Nero is said to have given six thousand sesterces for two glass cups. So late as the time of Queen Elizabeth there was but one pair of silk stockings in England, which were owned by the queen and were valued almost like the jewels in her crown. The first printed Bibles sold for five hundred or six hundred crowns. Now the glass cups and the silk stockings can be possessed by all, and the Bibles are twenty-five cents apiece. All these improvements came from intellect; and for more improvements we must have more intellect, which is just as produceable a commodity as any in the market. Steam navigation now earns for this country more than a hundred millions of dollars a year. Other Fultons will make it earn other hundreds of millions. So ten yards of cloth can be manufactured where one is now manufactured; ten bushels of grain raised for one that is now raised; and fifty books made for one book, and all better than before. Stronger and swifter machines are yet to be made for traversing the earth and nobler instruments for exploring the heavens. And when this is done, the epics, the histories, the philosophies, and the ethics will be as much better as the machines.

In this way all the grand institutions and instrumentalities which are held to be the crown of our present civilization have come into being. The magnetic needle led to universal commerce; railroads came out of steam; universal popular education from the art of printing and paper-making; and

without roads and bridges a representative republican government like that of the United States would be an impossibility. Means, too, are to be increased faster than men increase, so that the multiplied millions of posterity may have better fortunes than their fewer ancestors. And all this vast and demi-urgic work—I might almost call it a *theurgic* work—is to be done through the inventive and discovering faculties of man, drawing for instalment after instalment upon the mighty reservoirs of power and wisdom with which God, for this beneficent end, has filled the earth and the elements. Or rather, as I before suggested, the intelligence of man is yet to pervade the earth as it now pervades the body, and to command the forces of nature as it now commands its own limbs, and to wield gravitation, wind, fire, tide, caloric, electricity, as it now uses hands and feet, or eyes and ears. Here is a theatre where the dignity of our nature can be vindicated and the greatness and goodness of Jehovah displayed. To those who are to train the youth of both sexes for their impending work, I say, in the words of Revelation, “He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.”

But besides the physical and the intellectual, there is the moral nature of man—the coronal part of our being. To this department belong the awe-inspiring ideas of duty and destiny, and the awe-stricken sentiments of wonder and adoration. Here our contemplations rise from the mighty genius who can draw down lightnings from the lower heavens, to the hallowed genius who can draw down sanctities and beatitudes from the upper heavens. It is through moral and spiritual power that the rivers of thought and feeling are to be turned as men now turn the rivers of water.

The moral and religious part of man's nature is the highest part. Of right it has sovereignty and dominion over all the

rest. Some of our faculties were bestowed for a temporary purpose. This was given for an eternal one. If the appetites govern, they bring the whole physical system to sudden ruin. But if the spiritual nature enlightened by the intellect governs, then the bodily system runs rejoicing to its goal. The whole scheme of creation—man and nature—was based upon the supremacy of the moral faculties. Let but the laws of God be understood and obeyed, and justice and love will reign over all the earth, and man will be restored to his Eden of happiness.

As indications of the supremacy of the moral faculties and as a measure of their success, we use the terms civilization and Christianity. But these terms are most vaguely used. If subjected to the least rigorous definition, they can import nothing less than a *knowledge of the laws of God, and an obedience to them*. It matters not, in any good sense, what men profess; it matters not what books or institutions or revelations they may have inherited; the stern question forever recurs, *Do they know the will of God, and do they obey it?* Judged by the standard of knowledge and obedience, how far is the best nation in the world, at the present time, authorized to call itself civilized or Christian?

In regard to the physical part of our being—our bodily appetites and propensities—I ask the Christian physiologist what part of the world there is where men know and obey the laws of God in this department of their nature? Alas, my friends, pain, disease, debility, and brevity of life all personify themselves as giants, to vociferate, *There is no such place!* In all that pertains to the bodily health and soundness, whether of ourselves or of our children, ninety-nine hundredths of all the best communities in the world are still heathen in their daily practices and life. Those appetites which

they have in common with the brutes, they do not govern; but they allow the appetites to govern them. The first distinction between an irrational and a truly rational being is this: The former seeks, primarily, the pleasures of food; the latter, the uses of food. The one consults appetite and indulges; the other consults reason and abstains. Among our people, I mourn to say, in eating and in drinking, and especially in using alcoholic or narcotic substances, appetite is the god they worship. Natural, or rather unnatural, desire, uncontrolled by reason, determines their conduct, and thus predetermines to a great extent their own future health and that of their children. Reason and conscience alike teach that if any of the forthspringing impulses that wake to spontaneous activity within us ought first to be bridled and reined in, the despotism and audacity of our lower nature ought so to be. Until all concoctions for the titillation of the palate, until all stimulants for the excitation of the brain, are made subordinate to the soundness of the stomach and the purity of the blood; until reason and conscience shall rise in majesty above the subject propensities and bind them, like hounds in the leash; and until men shall have reference, in their matrimonial connections, to the physical laws of hereditary descent, they have no right to call themselves civilized or Christian in their treatment of the body. They either do not know or knowing, they do not obey this part of the laws of God. I grant, there is indefinitely more now than formerly of what calls itself refinement and elegance in all our domestic life; but, alas! how little of it has any reference to the four cardinal conditions of our normal state, to the four evangels of the body, health, strength, beauty, and longevity. And if the care of the body is more refined than formerly, that refinement is mainly Sybaritic. If its pleas-

ures have been enlarged, the enlargement is mainly in the direction of voluptuousness. But this change from gluttony to epicurism is of doubtful utility; because I believe it to be quite as easy a task to bring a man forward from beastly gluttony to a healthy dietary as to bring him back to it from idolatrous epicurism. As to the bodily appetites and propensities, then, the best nations and communities on the earth can as yet advance no claim to true civilization. It is not an object with them to study how to make the strongest and most healthful bodies, as it is to study how to make the fastest-sailing clippers or to raise the largest oxen or swine. Even the highest circles of society as they call themselves, are often seen glorying in their shame; for in what quality of dignity or decency does the publication of a "bill of fare," with all its profusions and prodigalities, after some metropolitan feast or entertainment given by duchess or queen, excel a cannibal's display of bones after a human barbecue?

In regard to the body, there are four proofs that we are not yet a civilized people: first, men sacrifice health to wealth, instead of wealth to health, and do not seem to know that the surest way even to get money is to get a good body and brain to work with. Second, while there is an almost universal desire among parents to educate their children better and leave them richer than they themselves were, and while the more advanced communities make strenuous and combined efforts for these ends, we see only occasional and transient indications of a desire to confer upon those children more health and strength, more power of endurance and the prospect of a longer life, than belonged to the parents themselves. Thirdly, notorious indulgence of appetite and propensity, even in the gross forms of intemperance and licentiousness, if combined with great talents, hardly pre-

sents an obstacle to political promotion while living or to extravagant eulogies after death. Practically, the great talent, instead of aggravating the guilt, is held to atone for its commission. And, fourthly, while with our abounding worldly prosperity, new temptations are constantly springing up around us, new moral restraints to confront and oppose them do not rise up within us. Hence the new sources of enjoyment are abused rather than temperately used. Prodigality triumphs over frugality. The wealth is shamefully expended on low tastes and gratifications, which was designed to be nobly consecrated to art, affection, and charity.

And is it any better in the moral part of our being? Here we have two infallible tests of human character—two infallible tests by which to determine whether we know and obey the will of God. The first has reference to man. It is the test of human brotherhood—do we love our neighbor as ourselves? Among whatever people the law of caste prevails, or the fact of caste without the law, that people has no right to call itself civilized or Christian. I use the word *caste* because as an anti-social term, it is generic and embraces all forms of human selfishness. A people tolerating caste do not love their neighbors as themselves; they do not do to others as they would be done by; and therefore whatever religious rites or devotional forms they may practice, they fail to practice the eternal law. The animosity of race, whether it be of the Jew against the Samaritan, of the Turk against the Christian, of the Chinese against the outside barbarian, or the European against the African, is as contradictory to the spirit of Christianity as water to fire. Where either exists, the other necessarily nonexists. This is one test.

The other test is derived from the other great commandment and is no less decisive. Wherever complete religious

toleration is denied, that is, where men are accepted into favor or treated with aversion because of the religious opinions they have formed, and not because of the honesty or dishonesty with which they formed them, there the offender has no right to arrogate civilization or Christianity for himself. The command to love God with all our powers necessarily involves the absolute freedom of those powers; otherwise, it is not rational and spontaneous love, but factitious and constrained; not the result of vital conscious action but of machinery. Christ came to make men free in thought as well as in spirit; and whoever would fetter men's thoughts would fetter their limbs if he could. We are bound to judge men by the integrity of their lives, rather than by the accuracy of their logic, and an unintentional error of the intellect is never to be compared with a conscious dereliction of the heart. That would be as erroneous as to compare a mistake in metaphysics with the crime of blasphemy.

A people who tolerate great national sins are not entitled to be called Christian or morally civilized. Is it said that sin gets organized into the framework of society, so jointed and articulated that it cannot be removed but by demolishing the structure of society itself? I answer that there is not one of the dishonesties of trade, or the profligacies of politics, or the bigotries of faith, or the inequalities, that is, the iniquities, of feudalism or caste, that would not be hurried into oblivion in a single year if a majority, or even a considerable minority, of the community were really Christlike or Christian. The most sensitive musicians could more easily live amid a perpetual thunder of discords than a truly Christian body of men amid the sights and sounds of misery that could be prevented and of sins that could be quelled. The old history stands for a universal truth; and not the ancient Sodom

alone, but any Sodom, could be saved by ten righteous men.

What a comment upon the churches of Jesus Christ it is that not a single one of them throughout all Christendom constitutes an exception to the rule that where pecuniary obligations are concerned a legal bond is the universal substitute for confidence in the bondsman's personal integrity.

It is in the sphere of the intellect alone that men are becoming truly civilized. Here they have learned some of the laws of God as expressed in nature and they do obey them. And how magnificent are the rewards! How the crude substances of nature are changed into comfort, beauty, and blessedness! How our knowledge of the stars enables us to traverse the earth and to navigate the seas without losing our way! What myriad spectres of superstitions the knowledge of nature's laws has exorcised from mountain and grove, from cavern and glen, from midnight and twilight! As we descend into the globe and bring up its agricultural and its mineral treasures, we learn how deep down in its bosom the earth loves man. From the first and few rudimentary lessons which the intellect has learned, and learned to practice, too, from the great volume of God's will, have proceeded the vast multiplication of our comforts, embellishments, and means of progress, just as naturally as a bird comes out of an egg. Such is our reward for knowledge and obedience in one department of God's laws.\*

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\* Principally, however, thus far the laws which the intellect has learned are of the utilitarian kind—such laws as increase possessions and the power to use the forces of nature. Their contributions to physical and moral wellbeing have hitherto been indirect and collateral. For instance, in our great cities, many private mansions have lately been erected in which not the slightest provision has been made for ventilation. The successful business-man or banker hires the builder and the upholsterer to lavish the most they can for ostentation and pride. But with all their wealth they do not show a gleam of knowledge how to convert even a tenth percent of their prodigality into the means of health for themselves and their children.

And by what means has the intellect obtained such vast preeminence over the other departments of our nature, in learning what the laws of God are, and in reaping the rewards of obedience to them? In modern times it has pursued two methods as yet almost peculiar to itself.

In the first place, keeping its eye ever open and its mind ever receptive, it has sought earnestly for new truth instead of expending itself to defend hereditarily-descended opinions and keeping its eye shut and its ear stopped against all suggestions that do not square with old theories.

And second, the lovers of this kind of truth do not split themselves up into schools or sections; one, for instance, to maintain the Neptunian and one the Vulcanian theory of the earth; or one to contend for the material and the other for the vibratory hypothesis of light; but they have all come together, as in the French Academy of Sciences, in the Royal Society of Great Britain, and in those associations for the advancement of science which have lately been organized both in Europe and in this country, where each member submits his views to the friendly criticism of all the rest, and to the tests of truth, and still remains in fellowship and in friendship for the discovery of new truth, with perfect toleration to hold any diverse opinion on any point. Had the inquirers after the truths of nature divided themselves into sects and classes; one to maintain the faith of Hutton, and one of Werner; one to fight for the theory of Newton and one for that of La Place; and then gone back to their closets or their pupils to denounce all new discoveries and vilify the discoverers; had they looked backwards to keep all systems of philosophy where they were instead of forwards to enlarge and perfect those systems, and to modify (as new truths always do) our views of the old truths—had this been done,

the whole glorious region of natural science, and of the useful and elegant arts dependent upon it, would now be substantially where it was in the time of Lord Bacon; and men, sunk in hateful depths of poverty and meanness, would still be imprisoning Galileos as they have excommunicated heretics. And how admirably does this common and cosmopolitan love of truth operate. When Agassiz, or Faraday, or Arago discovers or announces a new truth, joy thrills like electricity round the whole circle of devotees to science. They know that these men were not bred in any narrow school; they know that the minds of these men were never absorbed into any *ism* or *ology*; they know that these men have no motive of pride or class or title to uphold the wrong or repel the right; and therefore, after hearing the announcement with candor and examining it with care, with one accord they adopt the discovery into the great republic of truths where it will be a sovereign forever. So, rightly and rapidly to interpret the will of God, even with a revelation in our hands, will demand the entire forces of the human mind, all cooperating and none thwarting; and before the will of God can be obeyed it must first be known. Oh, when will mankind be as zealous for new moral and religious truth as they are to invent a new reaper or gold excavator, to discover a new fossil in the earth, or a new planet in the sky!

Hope dawns even here. The analogy is most instructive and in one respect, most cheering, between the civil or political condition of mankind in the Dark Ages and its spiritual condition at the present day. Then the people of Europe were broken up into petty clans and feudatories just as what we call Christendom is now broken up into sects. The chiefs and barons of those times made constant war upon each other,

so that conflagrations consumed their cities and battles devastated their plains, exhibiting the self-same spirit, politically which is now exhibited, theologically, between Catholics and Protestants, the Greek Church and the Latin, or Churchman and Dissenter. Then each feudal lord had his castle for defence and his armed retainers for offence; as each sect now has a periodical for its armory, and itinerant proselyters for the invasion of foreign territory. Then there was no competition for higher agricultural science or for improved mechanical arts, or for more healthful architecture, or for a truer education of youth, as there is now no competition between the different denominations for practicing honesty in trade, or recognizing the law of God in politics, or giving charity to the wretched, or doing justice to the wronged.

But by and by, indicating the first dawn of a better political day, a few neighbor chiefs began to form friendly leagues and alliances for mutual protection or defence, in precisely the same manner as those different religious bodies in our day, who have doctrinal affinities, have combined to defend their own denominational territory or to invade that of a borderer. Such partial unions and compacts were the harbinger of civil and political reforms then, as they prophesy religious reforms now. After this first step, private wars soon began to cease; men dared to venture abroad from under the covert of walled towns; the travel upon highroads became less unsafe; intercourse extended and commerce grew up; until at length natural rights came to be so far recognized that men could live in the open country without armed protection and without danger from robber and assassin. The religious world is now in the very first stages of this progress. Its organized bodies occasionally form alliances with each other to subserve a common object; but even yet no individual can ven-

ture beyond the pale of his own faith without as great danger from the shots of his own camp as from those of the enemy. But as the sects emerge from their present hostilities, they will find all theological strifes to be as injurious to the moral wellbeing of mankind as the feudal wars of barbarous times were to their temporal interests. Then will all Christians come bodily or spiritually together in "world's conventions," or in "yearbooks" of theology, or in the "philosophical transactions" of benevolence, to investigate the laws of the human soul and the conditions of human welfare, as scientific men assemble now in a temple whose doors open towards all points of the compass, and Christian love will work that grandest of all miracles, that miracle for which all other miracles were wrought, the conversion of belligerents into brothers, and the reign of peace on earth!

But these great reforms in corporate bodies and in communities will never be achieved until private morals are brought into closer approximation to the standard of the gospel. Surely it is the most appalling fact in all our annals, and it ought to make every parental heart palpitate with alarm, that the college where the youth of our country must be sent for the higher culture of the mind should ever expose them to a depravation of the heart. And yet it is an opinion not uncommon—nor would to God I could say wholly unfounded—that, as young criminals learn new lessons in crime when sent to our public prisons, so young men lose purity of character and contract habits of vice when sent to college.

Is it not amazing, when the grandest fact in all the phenomena of nature, with the grandest principle in all the sciences which the student learns, is that we are in a universe of immutable laws, that effect follows cause with unerring

certainty and resistless force, and that we must reap the harvest whose seed we have sown; yet that the same student should ever make the mistake, or be allowed to make the mistake, that the faculties and the fortunes of his lower nature or of his higher nature can ever be the subjects of chance; that his fate is not fastened to his motives by rules as adamantine and indissoluble as those by which the tides heave and the planets roll? In all departments of botany pupils are taught to believe, and they do believe, that upon the constitution of the seed, upon a healthy germ and a vigorous growth, depend all beauty of the flower, all succulence, flavor, and nutrition of the fruit, all robustness of stalk or trunk, and all promise of transmitting the virtues of a better stock to subsequent growths. They are also taught to believe, and they do believe, that all this holds true throughout the entire realm of zoology. Why should they fail to see that it all must be eminently true of anthropology, that is, of themselves? Why should they be taught that, in dynamics, the power must be greater than the inertia, and in statics, that the resistance must be equal to the pressure, and yet not be taught, so as to feel a far livelier consciousness of its truth, that the quantum of energy must exceed the maximum of obstacle or no heroic enterprise will ever be achieved, and that moral principle must grow as temptation grows or we are swept to ruin. As the lightest particle of spray thrown up by Niagara obeys the law of gravitation as much as the rushing cataract itself; as the mote that floats in the sunbeam is swayed by the planets as they themselves are swayed by the sun, so each lightest thought which the mind consciously harbors, and each feeblest emotion to which it yields consent, must alter the character of the soul itself, and must change the altitude of its sphere through all the stages, even

of an eternal ascension. Every virtuous deed which a man performs brings an angel to his side to counsel and to bless; but with every crime which he commits a new Nemesis is born.

To render the cultivation of the intellectual nature beneficial or even safe, nay, to save it from being baneful, it must be accompanied by moral education. As warp and woof when woven together make a texture a hundredfold stronger than either taken by itself, so must moral education be inwrought with intellectual, to give strength to the character of youth. The very constitution of our nature teaches us that these two departments should never be disjoined. United, they are allies; separated, they often become foes. In a man devoid of morals the intellect often acts as a mighty pander to all the evil passions. In a man devoid of intellect to foresee consequences and weigh probabilities, a blind devotion to one good object makes havoc of whatever other good objects may stand in its path. The inquiry has sometimes been made, which is the more necessary to the world, intellect or the moral sense? We might as well inquire which is the more necessary to our natural life, air or food? Doubtless a being of both infinite intelligence and infinite goodness can see no difference between the expedient and the right; for whatever is right must, in the long run, be expedient; and whatever would, in the long run, be inexpedient, could not coincide with the right. But as the knowledge even of the most knowing man in regard to the common events of life and the consequences of conduct can penetrate but a hand's-breadth into the future, a faculty became necessary which should like the magnet always point to the pole-star of duty, however deeply that star might be obscured, either by the brightness of prosperity's day or by the darkness of adversity's night. Hence we were endowed

with the faculty of conscientiousness, which tends towards the right by an innate polarity, and admonishes us to embrace the true and spurn the false long before we can obtain a ratification of its dictates from the conclusions of reason or the results of experience. It is as absurd, and it is a grand part of moral education to make it appear to be as absurd for a man to discard the injunctions of his conscience as to deny the evidence of his senses or the inferences of his reason. What should we think of a man who, in spite of his senses, should dash himself against rocks or edifices as though they were non-existent, should step from precipices as though there were no law of gravitation, or should drink molten metal as though it were his natural beverage? Yet during infantile life, before the senses are trained, this is precisely the way in which children act. What, too, would become of a man who should use the multiplication-table backwards in his business; or who should construct optical instruments on the principle that light naturally moves in curved lines; or who should demand as a geometrical postulate that a part is equal to the whole? Yet children see nothing of the absurdity of all this, until their reason is developed; until they have profited by months and years of instruction. And no less incompatible with our higher nature, no less hostile to our true destination, is it to revolt against conscience, to turn a deaf ear to the promptings of benevolence, to stifle feelings of veneration for whatever is holy and true, than to discard the demonstrations of geometry or abjure the evidence of eyes and ears. But common education has not yet acted on this philosophy, and hence the imbeciles, the idiots, in morals, have been far more numerous than those in intellect. The old Romans who augured the fortunes of individuals and of the state from the flight of birds, or the entrails of animals, were idiots in philosophy, just as

parents who rear their children in habits of self-indulgence instead of self-restraint are idiots in education. The man who cheats in trade is not merely a cheat, he is a fool; and the mean pleasure of the knave who passes off a counterfeit bill is the shabbier counterfeit of the two. The supposed sagacity and cunning of the plot by which the diplomatist circumvents his adversary is the very trick by which the devil is circumventing the diplomatist himself. When Benedict Arnold betrayed his country because he wanted money to minister to his vices, he was on no higher an intellectual level than the monkey who excoriates his throat with scalding water because he is thirsty. The man who anxiously avoids the shadow of a granite post but dashes against the post itself, is not a whit more witless than he who fears the appearance of doing wrong but is not afraid to do the wrong he thinks will not appear. When Lord Chesterfield counselled hollow-hearted politeness—advised the forms of courtesy and graciousness instead of the things themselves—he must have seemed, to any superior order of moral beings, as silly as the ape, who puts a wig upon his head, and expects to be revered as a judge. When Spain kindled the fires of the *auto da fe*, and stretched victims on the rack, those fires dried the blood out of her own heart and through the crippling and mangling of others' limbs she herself has never since been able to walk erect. The bigotry of the Roman pontiff, which forced Galileo to deny the motion of the earth, did not stop that motion, but it did stop the intellectual activity and progress of all Italy, so that she has never been able to set herself in motion again. The so-called statesman who barter human liberty for money or for office, the priest who hopes to save souls by Jesuitical pretences, are but the figures in a puppet-show played by a fiend. Every wrong done is a weight which

the wrongdoer throws above his head, which is as sure as gravitation to fall back upon and wound or crush him. Where now, in the world's estimation or in their own, are Constantine, Caesar Borgia, Cardinal Wolsey, Henry the VIII, or the partitioners of Poland? Gibbeted, hung upon a gallows fifty cubits high, the eternal winds of execration howling curses forever through their bones, an abhorred spectacle to God, to man, ay, and to themselves! At the judgment day even Satan himself, all concreted into falsehood as he will be, will be seen to be still more of a fool than a liar!

It is so of all oppression, of all unjust wars, of all crimes, national or individual. God created the universe upon the principle of the supremacy of the moral law, and it would be easier for mankind to walk on their heads or breathe in vacuity than to subvert this moral order of creation. And all these propositions are as capable of demonstration as any theorem in mathematics. I know there are cases where men, who see the fatal consequences of wrong, still do wrong; but the cases are many to one where men do wrong because they have never seen its adamantine connection with fatal consequences. The law of right is incorruptible and eternal, and children can be taught this law as they can be taught geography or astronomy. But if children are not as faithfully and as anxiously indoctrinated into this law—I do not mean into the words that define it, but into the thoughts and sentiments that constitute and the deeds that perform it—as they are into the rule of three, or latitude and longitude, then the moral nature does not enjoy an equality of privilege with the intellectual nature; and until it does enjoy such equality there are no principles known to us, either in human actions or in the divine government, from which we can expect the highest moral results. Were God to give us such effects without their

related causes, He might as well give us any other effects without their related causes—growth without nutrition, wisdom without thought, or happiness without love; that is, He might as well annihilate His whole system of cause and effect.

The cultivators of the silkworm have discovered different kinds of food for that insect, by which they can color the material from which the silk is formed—red, blue, or otherwise—in the body of the animal itself; so that the beautiful cocoons, when spun from its stomach, shall not have been dyed into a given hue, but have grown into it; shall not have been colored with this or that color, but created of it. So let it be with the moral aliment the child receives. Let truth be the nutriment, and devotion to God the honey-dew of his life. If man does his part of the blessed work of education, early and wisely, we are certain that God will crown his labors with infinite blessings hereafter.

With every wise parent, the character which a child brings with him out of college is of more consequence than everything else which he brings. How natural to the parental heart is the exclamation of Jacob, "If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved." Yet the groans of father and mother at the natural death of a child are hymns of joy and exultation compared with the quenchless fires of their agony at his moral ruin. There is a calm and celestial beauty in the lifeless form of an infant who has died in its innocence; but with the ghastly features of one whom not age, not disease, but hideous vice, has brought to the coffin and the shroud, there come surges of woe which beat back all approaches of consolation. The more I see of our present civilization and of the only remedies for its evils, the more I dread intellectual eminence when separated from virtue. We are in a sick world, for whose

maladies the knowledge of truth and obedience to it are the only healing. Oh, if the literary institutions of our land would sanctify their ambition, and instead of an earthly rivalry to send forth great men, would provoke each other to the holy work of rearing good men, then would they be doubly rewarded, both by greatness and goodness, such as they have never yet imagined. Referring to the comparative worth of scholarship and morals, Montaigne says, "We know how to decline virtue, but we know not how to love it." I believe I can speak for all my colleagues in the faculty, and certainly I do for myself, when I say in regard to the morals of the pupils who shall be folded under the wing of this institution, as Jacob said after having wrestled all night with the angel of God, "I will not let thee go until thou bless me."

In endeavoring thus far to unfold the merits which pertain to the three great departments of education, the body, the mind, and the heart, the course of the argument has restricted me mainly to their effects upon individuals as individuals—to their power of bestowing strength, beauty, and preeminence upon the particular man or woman who possesses them. I have not described their more slow and indirect but grander action in what they will do for nations and for the race as a race. Over and above what education does for the men and women whom it personally blesses, there is a collateral and a magnificent result in what it does for mankind at large. Besides the private power and enlargement which it confers upon its possessor, it also confers a corporate or common power and enlargement upon all. The republic, in which there are many learned and wise men, must be almost as much elevated by their elevation as the learned and wise men themselves. It is this diffusion of benefits, this common and public function of education, which reacts with

such amazing effect upon individuals. If the weight of the atmosphere immediately surrounding a few persons were to be doubled, the general effect would be imperceptible; but double the weight of the earth's atmosphere, and all acoustic apparatus, all wind-borne vehicles, all pneumatic machinery, would be suddenly endued with new and vaster energies. So when the common stock of knowledge is enlarged all men are enlarged; because if gigantic ideas are given even to a pygmy, the pygmy becomes a giant. Though the inventor of the steam-engine and the discoverer of the telescope may have intended to invent and discover for themselves alone, yet they could not help giving the strength of ten thousand arms and the vision of ten thousand eyes to all mankind; and when an inspiring thought glows up, like sunrise, in the soul of genius, a new sun is lighted up in the firmament of all men's consciousness, and a ray out of the eternal effulgence is poured over the world.

It has been demonstrated in a late work\* that an inevitable necessity has presided over the order in which human knowledge has had its birth; that there is a lineage in the sciences, so that the modern could not have preceded the ancient any more than Noah could have been the father of Adam. But the idea which I here insist upon goes further. There is not merely an order, but a momentum, in human advancement. The perfecting of the simple or rudimentary sciences hastens the progress of the complex, so that the highest of all the known spheres of human thought—political economy, jurisprudence, government, education, theology, ethics—must emerge with accelerated velocity from former darkness into future light. This law of momentum is as obvious in human progress as in mechanics. When the *vis inertia* is overcome

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\* The Theory of Human Progression.

and a headway is attained, all impulses are cumulative, and men must compute their advance by a double reckoning—by adding each new accession of velocity to the *constant* of velocity already attained. It is no longer a mere movement of gigantic minds urging forward the race; it is a movement of the race itself, imparting new speed even to the gigantic minds themselves and rousing the common mind, which otherwise would be torpid, to activity.

And if mankind have already derived such vast benefits from the intellect, from that only part of their nature where, as yet, they have systematically begun to comply with the two divine conditions of all human progress—finding out the laws of God and then obeying them—what unimagined magnificence and glory must await the race when the search for this knowledge and the practice of this obedience shall be set down and recognized as the established program of the world's exercises!

For still more self-expanding and self-propelling will be the blessed influences of a public or common virtue than of a public or common intelligence. The contrast is infinite between virtue and vice, not only in nature, but in function. Vice is always selfish, bestowing it is true a certain amount of mean and sordid and short-lived gratification upon the actor alone, while it shoots arrows of pain at everyone else; but virtue diffuses eternal joy and beneficence upon actor and object, upon spectator and auditor, down to the end of the generations. Hence, while known vice, from the nature of things, can have but one defender or apologist—the vicious man himself—virtue, from the same nature of things, has all mankind on its side except the one vicious man whose machinations it thwarts.

Hence the two instruments for abolishing error and wrong

from the earth and for heralding in the true Christian era among men are truth and love (which are the synonyms of knowledge and obedience); both kinds of truth, natural as well as spiritual, and both kinds of love—love to man as well as love to God. Truth shows us that the commands of God, our duty to our fellowmen, and fidelity to our own highest interests never conflict, always coincide, and that either one necessarily imports or signifies the others. Love annihilates no elementary attributes of being, but in selfish natures it changes the working of them all so as to make the practice of truth the highest delight. The first conceptions of natural and moral truth accompanied by the feeblest glimmerings of love drove three hundred thousand false gods out of Greece. Before those powers Jupiter, who sat throned in Rome for a thousand years, to whom her armies vowed their vows for all the myriad victories of their battlefields, and to whom the senate decreed their thanksgivings for conquest, was left without a worshipper in all his temples and was consigned to the realm of fable forever. Those heaven-commissioned ministers invaded the ancient forests of Germany and expelled Thor and Woden from the halls of Valhalla. They redeemed Britain and Gaul from the bloody dominion of the Druids, and our own continent from the false theologies of Indian and Aztec. And thus must Christian truth and love, purged and redeemed from error and selfishness, spread abroad their reign of benignity by conquering the conquerors of the world; by subduing cannibalism, fetichism, idolatry, and the bloody rites of superstition; by abolishing pestilence, famine, war, intemperance, and poverty; and especially that all-comprehending misanthropy, the law of caste, which includes within itself every form of iniquity because it lives by the practical denial of human brotherhood. Outside the

kingdom of these powers are ignorance, and inhumanity, and terror, and pain; but within their realm are learning, and peace, and civilization, and Christianity. To them let our college be dedicated, and let us glory to fill the humblest office in this service of God and man.

In this regenerative enterprise we enlist a new auxiliary—one which history has never yet recognized as man's moral or spiritual helpmeet in the reformation of the world—we summon woman to the holy work of redeeming from human ills. Military and naval men speak of this or that "arm of the national defence." With woman at our side we can speak of the heart, not less than of the head, as a source of human improvement; of inspiring youth with purer sentiments, as well as of instructing them in richer lore; and of infusing a subtler and a diviner essence into all the elements that go to make up the body politic, or the mystic body of Christ.

I am aware that in proposing to educate males and females together and to confer equal opportunities for culture upon both, we encounter some objections—objections all the more entitled to our consideration because they are made by pure-minded persons and originate in a most laudable vigilance to conserve the relations of delicacy and purity between the sexes. If I do not respect the objections, I respect the motive that prompts them. It forces into review most grave and momentous considerations; and notwithstanding the novelty of the theme in an inaugural address and the proneness which the frivolous-minded may have to treat it with levity, yet I propose to meet it here, in this public manner, fairly and fully, face to face, and "try conclusions" with it.

That female education should be rescued from its present reproach of inferiority, and advanced to an equality with that

of males, is a conviction which has already taken fast hold of the best minds in society and is soon to mark the grand distinction between cultivated and uncultivated communities. But those who feel the necessity of this reform may still object to congregating both sexes in the same institutions of learning. To this objection, I consider it to be a complete answer, at least for many years to come, that as separate institutions for the different sexes would nearly double all primary outlays and current expenditures, the plan would impoverish all; and the attempt to give an equal education to both sexes by such means would result in bringing male education down to the present level of female education, instead of carrying the latter up to the height of the former. For the present then, if not always, the only practicable way of securing the great end of high female education is to educate both sexes at the same seats of learning.

And here I maintain that with such architectural arrangements as we have devised and with such social regulations as we contemplate, young men and young women will be brought together under auspices more favorable for the inculcation and growth of those sentiments which adorn and ennoble both sexes and fit them for the pure and exalted relations of subsequent life, than are now enjoyed in the best circles either in city or in country.

In the first place, what I may call an architectural guardianship is constantly supplied in the incommunicable separation of our dormitory buildings for the respective sexes from each other. To this will be added the guardianship of a code of regulations, assigning time and place for such social meetings or visitations as propriety not merely allows but approves; and all this will be over-watched by the vigilance of a college faculty hardly less responsible, and I trust, hardly less heed-

ful, of the wellbeing of their charge than parental solicitude itself.

It is more than desirable that a certain degree of social intercourse should subsist between those who have ceased to be children but are not yet men and women. Without such intercourse the manners grow rude and awkward, the sentiments grow coarse and impure. How painfully this is illustrated in the life of sailors, soldiers, and pioneers. In education, the problem is to facilitate this appropriate degree of intercourse while avoiding all dangerous or indecorous familiarity. And where else, better than under the conditions I have named, can all that is desirable be promoted and all that is perilous be shunned?

That occasionally an undesirable intimacy or attachment may spring up here is not impossible. Still, I think we shall possess two antidotes against that epidemic of incongruous matches which now afflicts society, both in city and country. Within the circles of fashionable city life it is well known that young men and young women, beyond the range of cousins or immediate family relations, rarely see each other except when the everyday guise is off and some holiday guise is on. On such occasions the manners and the appearance, not to say the topics of conversation even are, like the dress that is worn, studiously prepared for the occasion—so incrustated and rigid with conventionalism that any specimen of native simplicity or ingenuousness is recognized as a wonder, and is designated by a technical name. The doll-shop is as fit a place for studying character as the fashionable dinner-party, the assembly, or the ballroom. The solid attainments of the mind, the enduring attractions of the heart, have there but little scope; and an iron routine holds passion and propensity in abeyance for the hour. Such spectacles, or at least such

theatres for a kind of public display, afford no opportunity for learning either those natural dispositions or those cultivated adaptations which constitute indispensable ingredients in the happiness of connubial life. Yet it is here and often here only, that men, the shrewdest in their worldly dealings, make the most solemn of contracts on the lightest of considerations; and in selecting a companion for life, employ the senses and passions as proxies for the understanding and heart.

In sparsely populated rural districts the circumstances are very different, but hardly less adverse to the formation of happy marriages. There the circle of acquaintance is so limited and each sex sees so few of the other sex, that although the greater freedom of intercourse favors a far more intimate knowledge of character, yet there is no variety or assortment from which a congenial selection can be made. They are like customers at a meagre market, who buy what they do not want through lack of finding what they need.\* Further acquaintance with the world discovers more congenial dispositions or tastes better suited to each other; but this is after that fatal mistake has been consummated which never permits rectification.

On the other hand, a well-filled school assembles together a great variety of character; and a classroom where the sexes recite in presence of each other daily and for years affords opportunities for a kind of acquaintance infinitely superior to any that can ever be enjoyed at Washington, at watering-places, or other matrimonial bazaars. For the exercise and manifestation of mental capacities and attainments, there is

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\* "And I am wedding to an honorable house," said Dumbiedikes, "the Laird of Lickpelf's youngest daughter. *She sits next us in the kirk, and that's the way I came to think on't.*"—The Heart of Midlothian, Volume II, Chapter 18.

no reception-room like the recitation-room. Here too, there will be a daily observation of manners and appearance which either are a habit or must become habitual through practice. Dispositions will here be subjected to the severest trials; and unworthy passions, though hidden beneath the last folds of the heart, will be roused to a shameful exposure by excitement or stifled into extinction by the divine discipline of conscience. If to all this be added social interviews, at appropriate seasons, under guardian watchfulness, and through a period of years, whatever errors of opinion may have been formed in the classroom can hardly fail to be rectified by views of other phases of character taken from these different points of observation. And when in addition to all this, it is known that no precocious attachment that may spring up can be consummated until after the college life is completed without forfeiting all connection with the college itself, and all these salutary arrangements are reinforced and corroborated by the parental counsels of the college government, I ask whether there be any situation in life where the proprieties and the restraints which belong to the social intercourse of the sexes will be or can be better balanced or adjusted than here? I confidently ask whether there be any situation in life where the truly sacred (though often horribly profaned) principles and instincts which give birth and sanctity to the conjugal relation will be likely to be better understood and guarded from harm, or will promise, in after life, a richer amount of that bliss which God reserves as the special reward of a wise and virtuous wedlock.

Besides and beyond all this, I believe that the daily and thrice daily meetings of the sexes, with occasional interviews in social circles, will be mutually advantageous to them. It will work both moral restraint and intellectual excitement.

That innate regard which each sex has for the other sex, over and above what it has for the same good qualities in its own—the difference between friendship and love—is too precious and too powerful an agency to be thrown away in the education of either. I believe it to be an agency which God meant we should make use of to promote the refinement, the progress, and the elevation of them both. I believe it may be made to supersede many of our present coarse and crude instruments of discipline—the goads and bludgeons of punishment which are now employed to rouse young men from the stupefaction of idleness or beat them back from the gateways of sin.

And what a state of society does it invincibly argue, among parents, and in the community at large, if young men and young women cannot be brought together to pursue those ennobling studies and to receive those apt instructions which preeminently fit them for the highest duties of their common life without mutual peril! And where in reason or in the divine commands is there either warrant or pretext for the doctrine that those whom God mingles together in the family by birth; and whom through the sacred ordinance of marriage he designs for a still closer relation in after life—where, I ask, is there any authority, human or divine, for seizing and violently separating these same parties for four, or six, or ten of the middle years of their existence?—those very years when they can best prepare themselves by the elevation of whatever is in them of good and the suppression of whatever is in them of evil, for a future companionship so intimate as to be lost in identity. Such separation is obviously unnatural; and if it be necessary for the preservation of sexual purity, it is time that the whole community should take the alarm and hasten to devise a less monstrous remedy.

In the songs of thanksgiving which rise to heaven from all our colleges and higher schools, shall there be none but male voices in one place and none but female voices in another?

I have now, my friends, sketched the great necessities of a race like ours in a world like ours: A body grown from its elemental beginning, in health; compacted with strength and vital with activity in every part; impassive to heat and cold and victorious over the vicissitudes of seasons and zones; not crippled by disease nor stricken down by early death; not shrinking from bravest effort, but panting like fleetest runner less for the prize than for the joy of the race; and rejuvenant amid the frosts of age. A mind, as strong for the immortal as is the body for the moral life; alike enlightened by the wisdom and beacons by the errors of the past; through intelligence of the laws of nature, guiding her elemental forces, as it directs the limbs of its own body through the nerves of motion, thus making alliance with the exhaustless forces of nature for its strength and clothing itself with her endless charms for its beauty, and wherever it goes, carrying a sun in its hand with which to explore the realms of nature and reveal her yet hidden truths. And then a moral nature, presiding like a divinity over the whole, banishing sorrow and pain, gathering in earthly joys and immortal hopes, and transfigured and rapt by the sovereign and sublime aspiration *to know and do the will of God*.

Man, considered as a being of appetites and passions only, is the fellest creation that ever bestialized the earth. No saurian or megatherium of the monster-eras could ever inspire such horror or disgust as he. Though powerless towards whatever is beyond the length of his destructive arm or the effluvia of his noisome breath, he is ruin and corruption to all within their reach. His senses are his only soul. Prone, immane, ob-

scene, he crawls, like the serpent for his prey, and wallows in bloody filth for his pastime. Greedy and gluttonous, it is only with gory fauces and maw full-gorged that he is ever at peace. His language never rises above the guttural ejaculations of rage or the amorous cry of concupiscence. To him belongs neither memory nor prophecy; for of all the past he never thinks, and of all the future he never recks, and present sensations are his only heaven and hell. To all the wonders of the earth below, to the miraculous glories of the heavens above, he is blind; to all the symphonies, the sanctities, and the loves of social existence he has but the adder's ear and the tiger's heart, and towards God he is an unconscious atheist. His history is in three words: Birth, sensation, death! As a being of appetites and passions man looks downward.

But behold the miracle of change wrought by intellect in the aforetime beast. Raising his head from the earth, he looks before and after. As visions of beauty begin to form in his mind and to float before his eyes, he paws himself out from his elemental earth, gathers in his vagrant limbs, sloughs off his scaly integuments, moulds his form into symmetry, and apparels it with light; though as yet it is only marble symmetry and icy radiance. The athleticism of the beastly man was in his limbs, but that of the intellectual man is in his brain; and, maddened by the love of power and the demonism of pride, he educates himself to all the atrocities and insanities of ambition. His inventive and constructive faculties expend themselves in forging weapons for the petty murders of private revenge or the multitudinous murders of war. He launches destruction further than the thunder-cloud, and the earthquake visits cities less terribly than he. With armies upon the land and navies upon the deep, he slaughters myr-

iads more numerous than the hosts of Sennacherib, or he swallows them in the flood of his wrath as the Egyptians were swallowed in the Red Sea. See now, too, how the monosyllabic speech of the brute amplifies into all the phases of the human will; how words play for the despot the part of a mighty sorcerer—now hiding themselves in secret edict or decretal to fly to distant lands, where they suddenly start up into giants for strength and fiends for malice, or are transformed into prisons and assassination, into massacre and the excommunication of souls—now taking on permanence in codes of law, so that the ambition of the tyrant lives to curse for centuries after his body is dead—and now, assuming to be oracles from God and creeds for human belief, they go forth to darken the land and the sky for ages with their bloody idolatries and woe. As a beast, man could only drink human gore, and his thirst was sometimes slaked; but as a conqueror, he makes swimming lakes of blood for his Baiae, and pours it out in rivers on which he sails in magnificent barges, with voluptuous Cleopatras at his side. As he grows luxurious he distils his nectar from human hearts, and nations are consumed to make incense for his pride. If he fears that a competitor for his throne is somewhere born, to destroy that one infant rival he kills all children under two years of age—the red margin of his fears! He rapes Sabine women, crowds seraglios, sanctifies polygamy, erects bastiles, devises the agonizing enginery of the Inquisition, and studies the physiology of the human frame to learn the science of torture. He invades other hemispheres, descending in whirlwind and fire upon unsuspecting Africa, to carry her sons and daughters across half the earth into hells of bondage; makes Siberia populous with exiles and colonizes Australia with the supernumeraries in his terrible census of crime.

By forbidding education he intercepts truth as it showers down from God, lest its divine power should emancipate and redeem; and thus he draws a pall of moral blackness over Italy, over Ireland, and over every land of slaves. He mis-educates by lying forgeries and pretended oracles of God, till nations dwarf and bestialize under the horrors of superstition, and the fatness of the earth is changed, by ignorance and error, into famine and death. If art solicits the conqueror's pride, he commands it to fill his Louvres and his Vaticans with pictures whose pigments were made from human gore; and sculpture builds his monumental pyramids of human bones, and he trains the ear of childhood to love the fiendish music of war. He walls out the all-welcoming heaven on every side, save where he sits at his own narrow wicket; and there, for the payment of money or the surrender of virtue, he sells admission to Our Father in Heaven. The bestial man looks downward; but when intellect is developed he looks around and afar.

But man, as a moral being, receives the anointing of virtue and religion. No longer does he call his fellowman Jew or gentile, Greek or barbarian, bond or free. Children of a common Father—*brethren are they all*. The murderous steel he before clinched in his hand turns to the green olive branch. His eye streams at the sight of woe. His heart makes others' sufferings his own. No longer is it the base pride of nations to boast with how many fighting-men they can reap the harvests of death, or with what wrecks of proud navies they have inlaid the bottom of the sea; but man, risen to the consciousness of his glorious nature, now explores the world for mercy as he once explored it for gold, carrying bread where there is want, knowledge where there is ignorance, and Christian light to those who sit in the region and shadow of

death. The unhallowed intellect created martial epics that wrapped the earth in the lurid fires of war; but Christian epics will help to apparel the world in the celestial light of peace. The regenerated race will do better than to found schools for the orphan, or hospitals for the insane, or redemption-houses for the vicious; for, by following the eternal laws of health, truth, and duty—that is, *by knowing and obeying the laws of God*—they will forestall and prevent the calamities of orphanage, insanity, and crime. In that day the cradle-song of infancy will be, “Love to God and love to man,” rising with age into lofty anthems of intelligent gratitude and joy, to find its full diapason in those glories of a future life which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive. As I said before, the bestial man looks earthward and the intellectual man looks around; but the Christian man looks heavenward, and, as he gazes, soars.

And, lo! at that exalted and radiant point of man’s history, when the ideas of civil and religious freedom, and an education for ALL have been secured, woman stands by his side—not Amazonian, but angelic; gentle, yet godlike in works of knowledge and duty; meek, yet mighty in all the miracles of charity and benevolence; assuaging the wounds of humanity with a hand that touch of coarse or bloody weapons never hardened nor stained, while her heart burns like a seraph’s to restore the beauties of paradise to earth, and to usher in the era of millennial holiness and peace.

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## Part V

### DEMANDS OF THE AGE ON COLLEGES

*Address by Horace Mann before the Christian Convention,  
Cincinnati, Ohio, October 5, 1854*

HORACE MANN held passionately to the ideal of a full and well-proportioned development of the entire personality. He saw that no single element of achievement taken by itself would make a good life. He appraised pedantry, power, and piety and found that any one of them alone made limping and partial men. I look upon Horace Mann as a great pioneer, not simply as a prophet and as an administrator in founding the American public school system. He was great in seeing the significance of universality in education. Horace Mann saw that specialization of modern society, even in his time, made it exceedingly vulnerable.—From an address, "Horace Mann and the American Ideal of Education," delivered by ARTHUR E. MORGAN, president of Antioch College 1920-1936, before the National Education Association at Detroit, Michigan, June 28, 1937, 64:147.

THE "DEDICATORY AND INAUGURAL ADDRESS," together with "The Demands of the Age on Colleges," and three Baccalaureate Addresses, and the Report on the "Code of Honor," may be called "Mr. Mann's Manual of College Education." In the second of these addresses he said the demand of college professors for more time, for another year, could be easily met, if only college students would observe the laws of their being. "Their present four years would become equivalent to five years, and every teacher knows that the fifth or additional year would be worth either two of the others."—B. A. HINSDALE, 45:249.

## Demands of the Age on Colleges

*Mr. President and Gentlemen:*

Having been requested by my too partial friends in this Convention to give you some account of Antioch College—of the principles on which it is administered and the object at which it aims—I do not feel at liberty to decline compliance. I understand that a committee has it in charge to make a report upon the material or financial condition of the College—the health of its body, so to speak—while I am requested to give some account of its spiritual condition—the health of its Moral Sensorium, the seat of mind and heart.

Gentlemen, at your last General Convention held at Marion four years ago, you decreed the existence of Antioch College. By force of that decree, and by the blessing of God, *that college now is*, and you have a right to know all that anybody can tell you concerning it.

Our College is too young to allow me to speak of what it has done. It is just one year ago this day, since, with appropriate ceremonies, it was dedicated to the glory of God and the welfare of man; and by a singular coincidence I am now called upon, precisely one year after having delivered its Dedictory Address, to speak to you again—of the past, historically; of the future, I trust, prophetically.

Of an institution so recently called into being, you cannot expect, as you walk through its halls and your footfall wakes a reverberation along its galleries, to hear the echoes talk Latin and Greek, as is said to be the case with some of the old universities of Europe. You cannot expect, as you ascend its lofty towers or peer into its crypts, to find any old Genius of the Mathematics sitting there and working out the deep problems which are hereafter to enlighten the world. We are too young for any such apparitions, real or fabulous.

Today, then, is the first birthday of Antioch College. That institution was opened under circumstances most embarrassing to faculty and students. I am about to impute no blame to anyone; but I must give a glimpse of our early history. On coming to Antioch College in October last, we found nothing in readiness but our own hearts. The weather was cold, but there was not a fireplace nor a stove in the whole establishment. We had only our love of the cause to keep us warm; but this, though very good in morals, is very bad in physiology. A room had been set apart for a library, but there was not a book in it nor a shelf on which to put one. In vain for that had the art of printing been discovered. We had not a blackboard, nor a school-chair, nor a school-desk for any student, nor any habitable school-room or recitation-room. Our first examination, for the admission of about two hundred students, we were obliged to hold in our dining-hall. We cleared off the breakfast dishes from the tables in the morning (for we conduct all our examinations for admission in writing) and when noon came we had to clear away pen, ink, and paper for dinner; and after dinner to clear away the dishes for examination again; so that, at first, over the dining-table of our common hall, the cook and the professor held divided empire. I doubt whether the dining-tables of

any college were ever promoted to such honor before; and, for one, I sincerely hope they may have borne that honor for the last time. The gastronomical and the classical digestion may well be kept rather more distinct. As a literary institution, we certainly have had one year of pioneer life; and our history shows that the scholar may have his perils and his exploits, not less than the backwoodsman. In fine, if Adam and Eve had been brought into this world as prematurely as we were brought on to the premises of Antioch College, they must have been created about Wednesday night!

But now we have the nest-egg of a library to which we hope additions will be duly laid; we have a dozen beautiful recitation-rooms; we have the finest schoolroom I have seen this side of the Alleghanies; we have nearly four-hundred students (a fact, I believe, unprecedented in so young an institution); and notwithstanding our "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties," I feel bound to say that my colleagues and their pupils have done a year's most earnest and profitable work.

*"Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit."*

But, as was remarked before, we are as yet too young to show much in the way of performance. All that can reasonably be required of us is to tell you, not what we have done, but what we are striving and preparing to do.

Let me say, then, in a single sentence, that our hope and aim are, *to meet, not merely the advanced, but the advancing Demands of the Age*. What, then, does the age demand that our College should be? or rather in the first place what does the age demand that it should not be? It should not be an Egyptian pyramid for the preservation of old mummies, literary or psychological. Whatever has vitality in it, whatever has truth in it, these let us religiously preserve; for Truth is endued with immortal youth and beauty, and can

give forever and to all without self-exhaustion or impoverishment. But as for the mummies of the pyramids, let the Arab peasants continue to burn them, as travelers tell us they are now accustomed to do, for cooking their dinners. Would to Heaven that all the tyrants of the present day, political and mental, could be put to as good a use.

Dugald Stewart likens some of the literary institutions of his time to old hulks sunk in the stream which by their stationary position, show to the passers-by how far the living have advanced beyond the dead on the River of Progress. We do not desire to enter into any competition with these old hulks for the honor or the repose of their conservatism. Among the moral surveyors who are measuring the onward march of mankind, we would aspire to be found among the foremost chain-bearers, pressing right forward, in defiance of any obstacle and up an acclivity; and let those who come after keep the tally. We loathe to be classed among the fossil remains of bygone ages; as belonging to that order of men who, if they had been born during an eclipse of the sun, would have protested against the return of its light; or, if they had been born in the ark, during the deluge of Noah, would have remonstrated against the subsidence of the waters. The new moon waxes to its fulness during the first part of the night, when the world is awake to gaze at the beauty of its orbiting; the old moon wanes into darkness during the last part of the night, when the world is asleep; as though it were a little ashamed of an appearance which only seems to be retrograde. (Though we would conserve everything which is noble, and exalted, and Christlike, yet we are not so in love with conservatism that we would, as some do, value every old mummy according to its first cost with compound interest to the present time.)

But what are the advanced and advancing wants of the age, which we acknowledge an ambition to answer? I can, of course, within the limits which I ought not here to transgress, give only the briefest reply to so comprehensive a question.

In the first place, I think that those of us who are graduates of a college, on looking back to the condition on which we were left on our graduation day, must all agree, and all lament, that we suffered under a great deficiency, or rather a great calamity, in regard to *personal manners*. However impossible it may be to define the difference, yet everybody knows that an immense difference does exist between a gentleman and a clown. Now, to whatever bachelorship or mastership of arts our old college diplomas may have certified, they certainly did not certify to, they certainly did not imply any mastership of the art of polite, easy, graceful, self-possessed manners which would serve us as a letter of introduction on our entrance into the world. Our Alma Mater—our fostering mother, as she is called—did not foster in us an open, frank, manly, independent, yet modest bearing—a quick consciousness of our position, whatever it might be, and a prompt, practical perception of the proprieties that belonged to it. Now, this outward stamp and superscription of a gentleman is equally distant from awkwardness, on the one hand, and conventionalism on the other. The awkward man, from his practical ignorance of the manners of educated society, is so puzzled to think how he shall behave that he cannot behave at all; or rather, his arms, legs, head, and tongue all behave at random. On the other hand, the man whose limbs and faculties have all been dried and skewered by conventionalism, always governs himself by some arbitrary rule, and never by that fitting propriety which is born of

the occasion; and hence, both in body and mind, he has the stiffness of wheel-work, instead of the free and graceful flexures of a living organism—personal habits that are as different as the round and round of a crank from the wavy motions of flame. But let it always be remembered that the manners can never be truly polished and genial unless the mind be benevolent and sincere. The dignity and grace of the soul must prelude the dignity and grace of the body.

Now, in regard to ourselves and our classmates in college and our predecessors and successors also, I think this absence of gentlemanly manners, this clumsy and helter-skelter working of all the organs and faculties; or, as it often happened, a complete lockjaw of them all at the very time when most needed, was chargeable, at least in a very great degree, to the absence of cultivated and refined female society; and hence I infer that cultivated and refined female society is “indicated,” as the doctors say, both as antidote and remedy for manners and address, either too bashful and constrained, or too obtrusive and violent. For this reason, and for others set forth in the Address to which I have already referred, I think one of the Demands of the Age is that both sexes shall be educated together. And I am happy to say that, so far, our *a priori* reasoning on this question is ratified by the test of experience.

Without the training of social intercourse, even learned men fail to become easy and affable in conversation. Like those described by the *Spectator*, they may be rich enough to draw a draft for a *thousand pounds*, but for present use they have not a *penny* in their pockets.

Does any one apprehend danger from the opportunities afforded by such a united education? I reply that, as it seems to me, the danger will be increased the longer the separation

is continued; so that the alternative really is, mutual association of the sexes, or Turkish seclusion. Nay, I go further, and I confidently submit to the candid judgment of the world, that, even if some improprieties and indiscretions should at first result from combined male and female education, those improprieties and indiscretions would be justly chargeable to the old system of isolation, which excluded all apprenticeship to propriety and habitual selfrestraint, rather than to the new arrangement, which only restores that order of nature which God appointed for children in families, and for the holy relation of wedlock among adults. Suppose, in Turkey, the sequestration of women from men were to be suddenly abrogated; or in Spain, the duenna system of perpetual *surveillance* were at once abolished; doubtless at first the bounds of propriety, and even of innocence would be transgressed, but would not these evil consequences be rightfully chargeable, not to the better system introduced, but to the chronic mischiefs of the system removed? Even when an inebriate takes and keeps the pledge of total abstinence, his system suffers the new pains of a revulsion, and it requires a long time to restore his diseased functions to a healthful state.

Our general plan is, association of the sexes *under supervision*; non-association, without it.

Another respect in which our College is bound to meet the advanced and advancing wants of the age, is the solidity and breadth of the foundation which it lays, not only for the professions, but for all the business vocations of after-life. It requires a vast deal more knowledge *now* to give a man a respectable and safe standing in any condition of life than it did a few years ago. The old frontiers of intelligence are removed far outward. Facilities for journeying and voyaging, and mediums for communication while we remain at home,

have so wonderfully increased that the whole world is now brought into the same neighborhood; and surely a man ought to know something about his neighbors. The same amount of geographical knowledge which would have made a man respectable fifteen, or even ten years ago, would not save him from the brand of ignorance now. The materials are fast becoming as voluminous for a history of the United States as they were but a short time since for a history of the world. The use of machinery in all the arts, trades, and manufactures, and even in agriculture, renders it indispensable that every artisan, mechanic, manufacturer, and farmer who wishes to be anything more, on his own premises, than a wheel or an ox, should understand the principles and laws of the machinery he uses.

And, what is most important, in addition to all this, the sciences are not only constantly enlarging their respective spheres of action and discovery, but they are, as it were, entering into copartnership with each other, and thus by their combined powers producing new and grand results, to which no individual of them, acting singly, could ever attain; so that a man is bound not only to know more in regard to any one science but more sciences. Formerly the telescope revealed to us the wonders of creation in the heavens above, and the microscope in the earth below; and Hercules would as soon have besought a pygmy to assist him in his Twelve Labors, as the astronomer would have expected aid from the microscopist. Now the telescope daguerreotypes a picture of the heavens, and the microscope, by enlarging the minutest object in that picture millions of times, helps our conceptions to seize upon the grandeur and magnificence of the original. Psychology had worked for ages on the awful problem of insanity and had produced nothing but the grossest super-

stitutions and cruelties. Physiology lent its aid and now ninety in a hundred of all the insane are curable. Philology, in order to unriddle the deep questions of ethnology, is looking through the successive layers of language—if I may so call them—which successive nations have spoken—just as Geology looks through the successive strata of the earth's crust in order to learn the history of its formation—and is thus enabling history to perform a task otherwise impossible. Philology reaches beyond history and even beyond tradition.

Microscopy has become a fellow-worker with anatomy and pathology in regard to the structural changes produced by disease, and is thus pouring light upon that realm of darkness out of which so much of human suffering has gone. The laws of mechanical motion are made to illustrate the laws and properties of all the colors of the rainbow. Under the combination of astronomy with geology, the moon solves problems respecting the thickness of the earth's crust and shows the density of its interior. The chemist, the botanist, the mineralogist, the entomologist, and now the engineer, are uniting with the agriculturist, in developing and producing wonders, whose authors in any age of the world would have been worshipped as demigods, or hung as wizards. Steamboats, railroads, and magnetism have become grand agents, not only in commerce and in politics, but in the general diffusion of knowledge and of religious truth; and though a man should now live only to the age of seventy years, he can do more work than one of the old patriarchs with his seven hundred. How difficult and how expensive it was only a dozen years ago to determine longitudes, and how impossible to determine them with exactness! Several chronometers were carried across the ocean in order to get the means of their aggregate errors. They were also

carried, voyage after voyage, to eliminate fractions of error by getting the mean error of many means of error. Now, through the instrumentality of the telegraph, longitudes can be ascertained as a mere incident and with an accuracy approaching that of Omniscience. Who would have thought that the first man who ever drew out an iron wire and the man who first discovered glass, were taking the essential preliminary steps to the transmission of intelligence by lightning, and that iron and glass, in the telegraph and in architecture, were to become *institutions*? Who would have thought that when the Marquis of Worcester first saw the lid of a tea-kettle thrown up by the boiling of the water within it, he was cooperating with the first man who ever wove a sail, or shaped an oar, or turned a wheel, to give mankind their present marvelous power of navigating the seas and of transporting themselves and their burdens across the land?

The value of a cooperation or copartnership among the sciences may be proved negatively as well as positively. Such admirable works as the Bridgewater Treatises, and Paley's Natural Theology, have not produced half the effect upon the character and life of men which they would have done had they recognized the natural and specific consequences which God has attached both to the observance and to the violation of the laws of nature; that is, had they wedded human philosophy to their own divine philosophy.

"In 1843," says Mr. Edwin Chadwick of London, "an epidemic raged in Glasgow and there was scarcely a family, high or low, who escaped attacks from it; but at Glasgow they have an exceedingly well-appointed, well-ventilated prison, and in that prison there was not a single case of the epidemic; and in consequence of the overcrowding of the hospitals, which killed some two thousand people, they took

forty cases into the prison, and not one of them spread. In fact," he adds, "there are so many classes of disease so completely within management, that medical men who have the care and custody of those who are in comparatively well-conditioned places, are in the habit of saying, in relation to cases in their private practice, 'Oh, if I had but that case in prison, I could save it.' " So that while criminals, contemnners of the laws of God and man, escaped with life, the virtuous and pious fell victims to disease, because human philosophy had been divorced from divine philosophy, in the teachings of men. This shows what rewards God gives to knowledge.

In looking back through history, we find many instances where men came up to the very verge of a grand discovery, but failed to make it for want of a little more knowledge or a wider outlook of mind. In that celebrated passage in Cicero against atheism, where he says that no number of the letters of the alphabet thrown promiscuously upon the ground, would so arrange themselves as to produce even a single verse of the *Annals of Ennius*, it is obvious that he had in his mind all the ideas which, if properly combined, would have produced the art of printing; and if he had had one dash of Yankee sagacity in him, he would have caught the glorious vision, and the world would not have had to wait, through fifteen hundred years of darkness and suffering, for Faust and Gutenberg. Why was the discovery of gold in California so long delayed? Had not the aborigines roamed over that land from time immemorial? Had not the Spaniards lived there hundreds of years? But all this was of no avail. The world must wait until a man went there who had eyes that saw, because he had a mind that thought. One may traverse a prairie, in quest of animal or man, and fail to discover him, because his vision is ten yards or ten barleycorns

too short; so that if he could have seen but ten yards, or only ten barleycorns farther, all his previous search would have been rewarded and all his subsequent search saved. It is just so with those who dwell in the great realms of science, or make explorations into them. These realms are stored with truth; but whether that truth shall be discovered by the searchers after it, whether it shall be recognized even by men who stumble over it, depends upon the length of their vision and their previous equipment in knowledge.

Here, then, we behold another grand want of the age—the preparation of large-minded men—of men in whose capacious souls there is room enough for many sciences, who can see the relations between these sciences, and wed them together for new and grander achievements. In a word, more knowledge must be imparted by teachers, and students must be incited and trained to acquire more. We talk about “a thousand horse-power” in mechanics, and “a thousand devil-power” in despotism; why should we not be able to speak with equal propriety of “a thousand angel-power” in benevolence and in the founding of wise and beneficent institutions? It will not do to allow the old saying in regard to our colleges to be any longer true, that if the students were required to be examined in order to get out, on what they are examined in order to get in, they must remain in college forever.

It was the same idea, in substance, that gave pungency to the epigram on the celebrated English universities:

*“No wonder that Oxford and Cambridge, profound,  
In learning and science so greatly abound;  
Since all carry thither a little each day,  
And we meet with so few who bring any away.”*

Now, how shall this increased acquisition be secured? I

answer, not wholly in any one way, but partially in several ways.

[1] We must demand something more as a prerequisite for admission into college.

[2] We must pay far more attention to the health of the students, not only by teaching the physiological laws of health, but by training students to an habitual obedience to them. Solomon does not say *teach* a child the way he should go, but he says "*train*" him, which means that the child shall be required to do the thing himself, and to repeat it again and again, and ten times again, until it becomes a habit. As physical exercise enters so largely into the means of securing health, it is certain that no college can ever maintain a general condition of high health among its students, unless they spend some hours every day in muscular effort. Hence the faculty of Antioch College require exercise of its students every day. At the ringing of a bell the teachers meet the scholars for exercise as they meet them in the recitation-room for lessons. We also encourage manual labor in every practicable way; and if a liberal public or a liberal individual would give us land for agricultural, or even for horticultural purposes, we promise them that the old injunction, *to till the ground and dress it*, shall not be forgotten. For a man who wishes, before quitting this world, to leave in operation behind him some machinery for good, would not the reflection that, while he is lying in his grave, a hundred generations of students would be growing lusty and strong on land which he had given for their use, be almost sufficient to keep his very bones in a state of preservation?

With better health of the body, we can obtain more work of the mind and hence can save that prodigious loss which now comes from the real, not the feigned, indispositions of

scholars. I have authentic information of one college class in this country, one-half of whose students died within three years after they graduated. Students ought to leave college in better bodily health than when they entered it. There is fault somewhere if they do not. Parents are responsible for the health of children and youth. The constitution being given, men are responsible for their own health and length of life, as they are for their character. God has ordained, it is true, that all men must die at some time; but he has left a blank in the decree, in which, *within certain limitations*, each one may insert, for his own death, what *date* he pleases.

[3] We must have the latest and best apparatus for the explanation of the different subjects of study, and then avail ourselves of the great natural law by which we acquire knowledge so much more rapidly through the eye than through any other sense.

[4] We must have better teaching, which can come only through better teachers. Here we have great hope. Two things—the methods of teaching and the motives for learning—have been indefinitely improved within the few past years. Let me tell the farmers of the West that the old methods of teaching are fairly represented by their old methods of reaping—an acre a day, and the reaper almost breaking his back by that. The new methods of teaching are represented by the new reapers, which in a day gather in the wealth of prairies. We have the testimony of all our most intelligent students, that they never *felt* such teaching before.

In regard to motives, we use in Antioch College no artificial stimulus. We have no system of prizes, or honors, or place-takings. We appeal to no dissocial motive, where the triumph of one competitor involves the defeat of another. We hold it to be unchristian for us to place children or youth

in such relations to each other that, if one succeeds, the other must fail; that if one rival wins the prize his co-rival must envy him or repine at his own loss, or both. We would not cultivate the intellect at the expense of the affections; what the world calls greatness, at the expense of goodness.

I hold it to be indisputable, that all healthy, well-organized, and well-trained children love knowledge as surely as they love honey. But children will not accept even honey itself if they must put their hands into a live bee-hive to get it; and have not some schools as many stings and as much poison in them as a maddened swarm of bees? Nay, I have often seen the sweetest knowledge administered to children as preposterously as it would be to take a bowl of honey, and, calling up a youthful group, to pour it into their ears, or on the top of their heads, or on the nape of their necks, or the soles of their feet. Who would love honey administered in such a way? But let one teaspoonful of it glide sweetly over the papillae of their tongues, and you must make them very honest to prevent their getting it afterward wherever they can find it. Our experience is that knowledge, rightly administered to pupils who have been rightly trained, needs none of the fiery condiments of emulation to make it palatable. In teaching, emulation is a resource to supply the absence of skill.

[5] Another method, kindred to the one last mentioned of carrying the college student farther outward into the domain of knowledge during his college life, consists in improving those seminaries which profess to prepare students for college, and especially in improving the common schools of the country. Let children be better educated in the common schools and they will not only be farther advanced on the road to learning when they arrive at the college-going

age, but by force of their better-disciplined minds, their knowledge of tools and skill in their use, so to speak, they will be able to learn much faster and more profoundly after they enter. Hence, all who wish well to colleges, must first wish well to common schools, and must do all that lies in their power to elevate the standard of popular education. Feeling the weight of this idea like a moral obligation upon me, I have spent the greater part of our long summer vacation now just closed, in attending teachers' institutes, in this and the neighboring states, teaching teachers how to teach. Though I may never see the fruits of this labor during my mortal life, yet I believe I shall see it when it is gathered into the Lord's garner. But whether I see it or not is immaterial, provided only it is there.

[6] I have another suggestion, more important than any of the preceding. It contemplates an improvement which will not only hasten the acquisition, but heighten the quality of all knowledge. Though I do not claim it as a discovery, yet it is more beautiful than any discovery, whether of a new continent upon the earth or of a new planet in the heavens. I mean an improvement in the conduct and moral habits of college students.

From what I have seen and heard of colleges in this country and in Europe, I have reason to believe that not less than one-quarter, increasing in many cases to one-third, of the mental power of students runs to waste, and worse than waste, through some form of vice and immorality. I here speak of the *mind* of a college as a single quantity, as a unit. The mind of the students of a college—that is, the mind of the college—is capable of being conceived of in the mass, as an aggregate, and of being mathematically expressed. And, considering all this gathering or assemblage of the glorious

capacities and endowments of the students as an integral sum, as one, I say that I have reason to believe that one-quarter part of it at least, and sometimes more, is wasted and lost through some form of sensual indulgence or immorality—just as a certain percentage of a farmer's wheat crop may be lost or destroyed by a devastating flood or by noxious vermin. Nor under the term indulgence, or vice, or immorality, do I mean here to include the remoter consequences of an undue gratification of appetite, accumulating until they result in debility or chronic ailments. These, I am aware, are usually considered venial offences (if they are considered at all) though nothing seems to me more absurd and few things more impious than to suppose that He who numbers the hairs of our heads takes no notice of the contents of our stomachs. I mean to include only the grosser forms of violating God's laws, such as frequenting city haunts of dissipation, with their awful havoc of all the powers of both body and mind; patronizing eating and drinking saloons in cities, or the less attractive groceries and shops of rural districts; entertainments given by students at their rooms or elsewhere in which alcoholic beverages take a part; all forms of gaming; hiring horses and carriages and riding out of town on what is called a "spree"—though I know not from what language this vile word came to us, and am disposed to think it came from below and not from above. These and kindred practices injurious to health, wasteful of time, debasing to morals, and fatal to all high and noble aspirations and plans of life, these rob time and rob talent; that is, they rob us of the capital stock of that youthful mind, and vigor, and opportunity, which God sends into the world with every new generation, and they rob us of them in not less than the appalling proportions I have mentioned. They burn out the

candle of life in youth and there the victim stands, all the rest of his days, nothing but the socket of a man. Now, to the moral accountant, what a sheet does this present! One-quarter part of the working capital invested in our colleges, carried over at once to the wrong side, in the profit and loss account of the ledger of life—lost to usefulness and to duty, to honor and to happiness. [See Appendix C, p501-14.]

But let us suppose a transfer in our books of this one item to the side of gain. You see at once that it would be equal to adding an entire year to the college course of our students, taken as a whole. Their present four years would become equivalent to five years, and every teacher knows that the fifth or additional year would be worth either two of the others.

All the earnest professors in the colleges of our country are exclaiming, "Oh! if we could have another year! Give us an additional year for enlarging and rounding off the education of our pupils, and then we would show you proud results!" Whatever college faculty can expel vice and immorality from its borders, has found this additional year! So much for the increased *amount* of knowledge.

But I hold that these truths bear upon the *quality* of knowledge not less than upon its *quantity*.

I hold it to be one of the laws of God that the talents of man can be developed in the best way and can produce the most beneficial results only when they act in full consonance with all the precepts and the principles of religion. The pursuit of knowledge or science is the pursuit of truth. All truth comes from God. No knowledge or science, therefore, can be vitalized by the true life, breathed upon by the true spirit, or come into the human consciousness irradiated with the same empyrean glory with which it emanated from God,

unless it is acquired and embraced by a virtuous and a religiously affected soul. We should grasp knowledge not with one only, but with all our faculties. Behold an infant when its curiosity is intensely aroused by a new toy. It subjects the plaything to all its senses. It handles, eyes, smells, tastes, and puts it to its ear. Every sense that holds any relation to it fastens upon it with a new grasp, and creates a new tie between it and the inquirer's mind. So with knowledge; it should be seized and appreciated by all our faculties that have relations to it. To the merely scientific mind, for instance, there are several different kinds of rays or influences emitted or produced by the sun. It illuminates, it warms, and it effects new chemical arrangements among atoms. Now the optician analyzes its light, the galvanist measures its heat, and the chemist notes the atomic changes wrought by its chemical power. But to the religious-minded man, whenever he beholds that glorious orb through the prism of our Heavenly Father's care and love, he sees something above and beyond what optician, galvanist, or chemist can see. Its beams are irradiated and hallowed by a diviner effulgence than that which reaches the natural eye; they penetrate his heart with a warmth more vital and gladdening than any the nerves can feel, and they so purify and recombine the elements of thought and affection as to distil the elixir of a celestial joy through all his soul and over all his days. The philosopher looks at the scientific properties of matter and admires; the Christian beholds not only the gift, but the Giver, and adores. The one has only the knowledge of truth; the other the rapture of devotion. They have two horizons, one of which embraces the wonders of nature; but the other embraces not only all nature's wonders, but their more wonderful Author also. Who would not rather see all the rays of a spectrum than a part of them?

On his own principles, the scientific man must admit that the bliss of beholding and comprehending must increase with the amplitude of the horizon surveyed, and the magnificence and beautiful variety of the object it embraces. Does not the eye which stands in such a relation to the dewdrops that they are all transmuted into pearls, and each reflects the splendors of the firmament, behold a lovelier sight than the eye to which they appear only as opaque globules of water? and shall not the eye behold a still more glorious vision, which sees reflected in every dewdrop, not the heavens only, but the Majesty that sitteth upon the heavens?

How much vaster and more glorious do the heavens appear when seen by the eye of science, than when seen by the eye of sense! So much beyond all scientific glory will they appear when seen by the eye of religion.

To the devout heart all the objects in the universe, however minute or however magnificent, are clothed with a divine and luminous ether, whose beauty and radiance are invisible to the soul that sin has struck with its blindness. The filial and trusting lover of God lives in the presence of splendors, outside and beyond what Shakespeare with all his genius ever beheld; for, to see the great and beneficent Father in all his works, does "gild refined gold, and paint the lily, and throw a new perfume on the violet, and add another hue unto the rainbow."

"I, too, had wandered," says Goethe, "into every department of knowledge, and had returned, early enough satisfied with the vanity of science." He never could have spoken thus of the "vanity of science" if he had beheld science under its religious aspect. No part of the temple of knowledge can ever seem empty to any votary who sees the spirit of God that dwells within and glorifies it.

I affirm, then, with the logical emphasis and positiveness of demonstration, that no man can look upon any kind of knowledge, however common or however abstruse it may be—whether the multiplication table or the problem of the asymptote—in the full majesty of its proportions, or in the blessed sanctities of its ministrations, unless he receive it into a virtuous and a reverent heart. The profligate man, even when mastering the most brilliant and enchanting series of truths, is only like a sick man when eating the most delicious tropical fruits, who may indeed feel the substance of their fibre upon his tongue, but whose distempered palate cannot revel on the exquisite richness of their flavor; or he is like a jaundiced botanist, who may trace the wonderful structure of plants, but all the beauty of their many-colored tintings is lost to his yellow-painting vision. When the staggering inebriate looks up to the firm heavens, he thinks the stars are reeling and plunging before his eyes, though it is only himself who plunges and reels. And so to one who does not recognize the attributes of God in his philosophic contemplations, the eternal verities of the universe float loose and vagrant before his gaze, the starry worlds above are but as drift-wood tossed hither and thither in the chaos of immensity, and he is bound to men only by the base tie of selfishness, and not by the sanctities of brotherhood as children of a common Father.

Vice and immorality, then, and the promptings of an irreligious heart, stand in direct antagonism to all true progress in knowledge; and under their influence, whatever knowledge may be acquired is shorn of its divinest beauties. May all university and college faculties, then, hunt and scourge these pests of literary institutions from their precincts; not necessarily by the excision of the offenders; not neces-

sarily by penalties; but by opening to their pupils loftier and nobler views of human duty and destiny and of the soul's capacities for excellence; or, as Dr. Chalmers so beautifully expresses it, "by the expulsive power of a new affection."

Such are the principal means of increasing the quantity and improving the quality of the work done in a college. Whatever more is to be effected within the length of time now devoted to a college course, must be done by the *division of labor*. The utilities of knowledge, too, must be always kept reverentially in view. No matter how seemingly unconnected with human affairs or remote from human interests a newly discovered truth may appear to be, time and genius will some day make it minister to human welfare. When Dr. Franklin was once sceptically asked, what was the use of some recondite and far-off truth which had just been brought to light, "What," said he, "is the use of babies?"

But the grand object, the main and chief thing, in which we desire to have our College respond to the Demands of the Age, pertains to the intimate and indissoluble union and connection which God has ordained to exist between science, on the one hand, and religion on the other; and by religion, I mean the great ideas and affections pertaining to human brotherhood and to practical obedience to the precepts of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. One of the aphorisms which have immortalized the name of Lord Bacon is "Knowledge is Power." Following his directions, mankind have obtained knowledge, and that knowledge has endowed them with powers such as Bacon himself could never have conceived. And now we want another aphorism, to be placed over that of Lord Bacon, and written in such large and luminous characters that the whole world shall read it—the aphorism that "VIRTUE AND RELIGION ARE POWER." This aphorism has regard

to the *use* we make of the *power* we possess. It teaches us the divine truth, that power, hallowed by benevolence, by the Golden Rule of doing as we would be done by, is the most precious, the most exalting of human blessings, is Godlike; but that power profaned by selfishness, by doing as we would not be done by, is one of the greatest of human curses, is fiend-like. In Bacon's time, the grand inquiry was how to obtain power; in our time, the grand inquiry is how to use the power we have obtained. And here is the test; here are the balances of the sanctuary, which will determine whether individuals or nations have risen up out of barbarism into Christian light by the wise, humane, and religious use of their power, or whether that power, by being used for selfish ends, has sunk them as far below common barbarism as Christianity is above it.

I said before that the sciences have begun to form partnerships among themselves, by which they are achieving grander and more splendid results than they were able, individually, to produce—microscopy and telescoping, pneumatics and hydraulics, magnetism and geometry, physiology and psychology, and chemistry which has the largest firm of them all—these no longer work alone, but in companies. In the workshops of the scientific artificer, half-a-dozen or more of the head sciences, as they may be called, are seen plying their hands together and contributing their respective parts to some world-advancing labor.

Bearing these facts in your minds, one of the advanced ideas pertaining to our College to which I wish now to call your attention, is this. As the sciences compass new and grander results by cooperative labors, so if science and humanity can associate together; or, to use a figure of speech which will be better understood in the market and on the

exchange—if science and humanity can form a joint stock company; if what we call the worldly wisdom of progress can enter into alliance with the divine wisdom of benevolence, or goodwill to man, and thus combine their forces for the great enterprises of humanity and practical piety, then we have reason to believe that their achievements will exceed all our imaginations as greatly as our mechanical attainments have surpassed Lord Bacon's imagination; and that blessings will rain down copiously from the heavens, and spring up luxuriantly from the earth, and be wafted to us on every breeze, and renewed with the changing seasons, until man shall be transfigured and society be transformed, and much of the lost image of the Creator be restored to the race.

Time will not allow me to enlist in the service of this argument the multitudinous illustrations which history and the present condition of society press upon me for acceptance. I must content myself with a few illustrations—with some, where worldly knowledge has lost indefinitely by refusing to cooperate with the divine; and with some, where the divine department has lost indefinitely by repudiating the aid of scientific or secular knowledge. Of the first, first:

Leading European writers on political economy—great and illustrious names in their “tribe”—have discussed the questions of their science as though it were one of pecuniary accumulation, of money-making only; and the whole social system of the foremost nation in Europe embodies and exemplifies this one idea completely and exclusively. The “Wealth of Nations” with them means how many dollars or pounds sterling a nation might be sold for; how large an inventory, if it should die, its executors or administrators would have to render to the probate or surrogate's court; what, in fine, the nation ought to bring under an auctioneer's hammer! Hence

it is maintained, both practically and theoretically, that land should be held in vast estates or masses and farmed out by the lordly proprietor to lessees who are never to have a fee simple title to any part of it, and that it should be worked by day-laborers or hirelings who are never to have even so much as a lease of it. And the reason given is that in this way greater crops can be raised than if each laborer had his freehold and were independent. Now with this system of feudal lordships, of tenancies by middlemen, and of serfage among laborers, it is obvious that, after we descend from the rank of proprietors, there can be no personal independence, little pecuniary comfort or competence, and less education. And what is this but sacrificing producers to production? cultivators to cultivation? men to crops? immortal souls to potatoes and the *ruta-baga*? What is this but saying that millions of men and women shall be worked like cattle, imbruted in ignorance, their noble aspirations stifled, and the infinite possibilities of celestial harvests from mind and heart all blasted, in order to raise more wheat, and barley, and beans? \* How closely, in many important particulars, does such a doctrine for the Caucasian approximate to the policy of the Cuban or Louisiana sugar-planter, who works gangs of fresh slaves to death once in five or six years because from their blood and sweat and agony he can coin enough money to replace his dead men with live ones to be worked to death in their turn, and still clear a handsome percentage out of the slaughter? With them the ten dollars in an eagle, ay, the ten cents in a dime, are the Ten Commandments. My friends, when Ptolemy devised a solar system according to which the sun

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\* Mr. Senior, one of the most distinguished of British economical writers, says expressly that "*wealth, and not happiness,*" is the subject with which the political economist has to deal.

and stars and galaxies, and all the constellations that fill the abyss of space revolved once in twenty-four hours, around this little mustard-seed of an earth—for the earth is but a mustard-seed, when compared with the magnitude of the physical universe—I say, when Ptolemy made the infinite so secondary to the finite, he understood astronomy right well compared with the knowledge of those who make the mighty and everlasting interests of heart and soul, of free thought, of education, of purity, of piety, and of happiness, revolve round the warehouses where they store their quarters of wheat and their hogsheads of sugar.

To write a work on the "Wealth of Nations," and say nothing of the health, education, or morals of the people at large, is as though a man should write a book on mechanics and ignore the lever, wheel and axle, pulley, screw, inclined plane, and wedge.

But suppose the love of humanity to join counsels with the love of money-making; suppose the cultivation of the soul to be made an accompaniment if not a preliminary to the cultivation of the soil; suppose the indisputable truth to be understood that education is not only the greatest instrument of gain, but the best preparation for the enjoyment of gain, then would mankind be rewarded not only by the material "Wealth of Nations," but by the imperishable riches of spiritual wellbeing. The ethical must be wedded to the financial; not to debase the former but to elevate the latter. No race of bondmen, smothered in the ignorance essential to slavery, can ever earn so much by their muscles as they could earn by their wits, had they been educated and free. The hand is almost valueless at one end of the arm unless there is a brain at the other end. God has so constituted the universe that no system—not any man or any gov-

ernment—can ever prosper that does not recognize the soul as superior to the body.

The "Population Theory" of Malthus, as it is called, proceeds upon a similarly fatal idea. It derives all its plausibility from the assumption that Appetite is never to be brought under the dominion of Reason and Conscience. Hence, instead of finding barriers to the excessive multiplication of the human race, in those restraints on the appetites which forethought, duty, and religion supply, it invokes the demons of Starvation, War, and Pestilence to slaughter millions of the successive generations of men, in order to reduce the number of mouths to the quantity of food. Instead of self-control, as a check to excessive numbers, it enthrones Moloch upon the earth, and makes Hunger, Fire, and Sword his ministers of wrath for the depopulation of a world.\*

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\* The doctrine of Mr. Malthus, that population, unless subjected to moral restraints, tends to outrun production, notwithstanding the denial and revolt with which it has been received by many philanthropic and pious men, is still abundantly demonstrable. Grant the invalidity of some of the arguments which have been used in support of the views of Mr. Malthus, such, for instance, as the dogma that the best soils are first taken up for cultivation, and afterward the poorer—a view which has been utterly refuted by Mr. Carey. Grant all that can be claimed for that beautiful provision of nature, by which the vegetable world converts the inorganic elements of the earth into nutriment for the sustentation of the human race and can repeat the process forever. Still, if there be a power and a tendency in the human race to increase geometrically (as without moral restraint there certainly is) then, in the course of time (and not a very extended course, either) it is obvious the people would so multiply as to encroach upon and trample out the vegetation itself. Suppose, even then, that the fancies of the French chemist, in the days of French atheism, should become literal truth, and that a hundred weight of common earth could be run through a domestic laboratory every morning and converted into a hundred pounds of good wheaten bread, or into any other desirable article of food, still this geometric ratio would soon carry the population to a point where the dead must be buried perpendicularly, and not horizontally, for want of room; and, could the dead themselves be made to support the living, the census-taker would soon show more acres of people than the land-surveyor of a nation could show acres of land, and the inhabitants in a square mile would outnumber the square rods, or square yards, or square feet, in the same space. Nor would concentric layers of people over all the earth, tier above tier, or story above story, cloud-high, nor

There is no more selfevident truth than that, in certain circumstances, and those circumstances, too, not difficult to be imagined, it is a greater crime to give life than it would be to take it; a greater crime to be a parent than to be a murderer. Intelligent forethought, reason, conscience, then, in the formation of matrimonial connections, and not starvation, war, and pestilence, are the true antidotes against the calamities prophesied by Malthus, and assumed by him and all his school to be the divinely-ordained and ever-continuing calamity of the human race. It would not have been more barbarous toward man, nor more dishonoring to God, and it would have been a far more simple and self-adjusting remedy had Malthus proposed cannibalism, instead of famine, slaughter, and plagues, as the true remedy for a redundant population; for by that method a commissariat in war would be rendered superfluous, and in peace, when the supply at Nature's table should become exhausted, two mouths—that of the eater and the eaten—would be stopped by one operation! Such are the hideous consequences, when philosophy discards philanthropy from its counsels; and thus must human science always suffer when it refuses to be allied to divine science.\*

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even the building of ells on all its sides, keep pace with the accumulating difficulty. Malthus is demonstrably right *in his theory*. The infinitude of his mistake consisted in his maintaining that the remedy is *destruction*, instead of showing that *moral prevention* is the antidote.

\* Why should the mainsprings of all social progress, health, intelligence, and morality, be omitted? When visiting the Normal School at Dublin, in Ireland, with Archbishop Whately, an incident occurred which shows where the "wealth of nations" and the "morals of nations" interlink. A class was reciting in political economy on the subject of the "Demand and Supply" of labor. "Suppose," said the archbishop, "a hundred laborers were wanted in a place and only fifty should offer their services what would be the consequence?" "They would be paid *more*," said the lad. "But suppose," said the archbishop, "only a hundred were wanted and two hundred should come, what then would be the consequence?" "*There would be a row*," was the answer.

Let me now show how immensely the cause of religion has suffered because it has stood aloof, and looked with jealousy, and often with disdain, upon secular knowledge or science; and hence I shall infer that the greatest Demand of the Age is that religion and science should be reconciled, harmonized, and led to work lovingly together.

In speaking of the essential harmony between religion and science, I wish to premise that the constitution of my mind and all my habits of life dispose me to look to practical results, rather than to speculative opinions—to actualities, rather than to theoretic possibilities. Modern effort runs to the description or exposition of religious duty vastly more than to the performance of it. Hence great books are written for Christianity much oftener than great deeds are done for it. City libraries tell us of the reign of Jesus Christ, but city streets tell us of the reign of Satan. The pulpit only “teaches” to be honest; the marketplace “trains” to overreaching and fraud; and “teaching” has not a tithe of the efficiency of “training.” Christ never wrote a “Tract” in his life, but he *went about doing good*. His professed followers write “*Tracts*,” but stay in their luxurious homes, while the hungry, the naked, the sick, and the prisoner are left as Lazarus was by Dives. In our day, no religious association or convention is ever held, which, if resolutions had any self-executing power, does not pass resolutions enough to redeem half-a-dozen planets as bad as ours. I agree with the man who said he had read the “*Acts*” of the Apostles, but never their “*Resolutions*.”

Between religion and science there must be a necessary harmony; for both come from God, and therefore both are true; and if true then they agree. Each is fitted to the other. Truth can never conflict with itself, nor God be the author

of contradiction. No work of God can ever come into collision with any word of God. If, then, there must be an essential and an eternal harmony between all true religion and all true science, how arose that supposed antagonism between them, which on account of its long continuance, has now become historic? History itself tells us how it came. After the night of the Dark Ages, at the time when science first began to dawn upon the world, the Papal priesthood of that day made war upon it. They claimed to be the keepers, not only of the ark which contained all religious knowledge, but of the treasurehouse that contained all secular knowledge also. Hence, when Galileo affirmed that the earth moved, the Inquisition commanded him under pain of torture, imprisonment and death, to deny the fact.

And there remain, today, in the library of the Inquisition, the very manuscripts of Galileo which the priesthood seized and sequestered. There they remain, I say, sequestered, condemned, sealed with the Papal signet, so that the truths they reveal might never more be spoken among men. Yet those truths are now taught to the children in our common schools and at our firesides! What an everlasting monument of the ignorance and bigotry of men when they lift themselves up against the power and knowledge of God! And thus were the glorious attestations which astronomy makes to the power and wisdom of God shrouded for a time from the vision of men by a bigot's decree, and the immense benefits which those truths were able to confer on geography, navigation, commerce, and discovery, postponed to a far later day.

It was so too with the magnificent science of geology. The hierarchs who claimed to be the depositaries of the will and wisdom of God surmised an odor of heresy in some of its doctrines, and therefore they denounced both the science

and its authors. Omitting remoter instances, it was so, too, when Dr. Franklin discovered the identity of electricity and lightning and prepared the lightning conductor. The ignorant ecclesiastic branded it as an impious attempt to parry and defy the thunderbolts of heaven. Surely if it was wicked to ward off a volley of lightning and thereby escape conflagration and death, it must be still more wicked to treat the lightning so familiarly as to send errands by it as by a boy; and therefore Morse and House, in their magnetic telegraph, according to their doctrine, are now guilty of keeping tens of thousands of miles of impiety in good working order. And even within the last ten years, when Dr. Simpson of Edinburgh discovered the power of chloroform to suspend consciousness, and thereby for a time to annihilate pain (I do not refer to *ether*, whose anaesthetic properties were discovered in this country), a body of the clergy of the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Edinburgh placed upon their public records a resolution denouncing the discovery of it as impious and its use as sinful. And the reason they gave for it was as miserable as their dogma was unphilosophical and unchristian. They said that God had declared that a woman should pass into the holy relationship of mother only through sorrow, and therefore whatever prevented that sorrow, as chloroform was designed to do, evaded the divine will and must of course, be sinful; from which it would seem logically to follow, that the more pain one suffers in becoming a mother, the more well-pleasing is the case in the sight of God.

But I mention these great historic cases which every intelligent man is presumed to know, not so much for their own sakes as for the purpose of introducing another fact generally lost sight of. While the Inquisition was brandishing the terrors of two worlds to silence Galileo; while the gov-

ernment expounders of the Scriptures were endeavoring to strangle the great science of geology at its birth; while the Scotch divines were denouncing the beneficent discoverer of chloroform; while the hierarchies of the church were doing these things on a national and worldwide scale, what, think you, were meaner bigots doing in their narrower spheres? For each king of a realm, what multitudes of subordinate executive officers and magistrates there are! and lo, for one gigantic St. Peter at Rome, there were thousands of pygmy St. Peters scattered all over Christendom. For every arch-bigot, strangling the birth of world-renovating truths in mighty minds, hosts of petty bigots were stationed all over the land, resisting all progress toward new light and new knowledge in the common mind! For one lofty Galileo who was forced to bow himself to the denial of a great astronomic truth in order to escape torture, ten thousand times ten thousand common men, in all the walks of life, were compelled to deny all the minor truths, proportionate to that sphere of knowledge and of duties, which they, the smaller Galileos, had discovered in regard to religion, to morals, and to social life; so that doubtless the world has suffered even more from the grand aggregate of small tyrannies than from the frightful enormity of great ones. And for the purpose of blasting to death all germs and seeds of new truth, whether scientific or social, whether blazing out from great minds or glimmering from small ones, to illuminate their respective skies, each bigot-smotherer of free thought had full access to the great dispensary of hell-pains, on which they were empowered to draw at all times, and for any quantity, free!

At the Council of Tours in 1163 and at the Council of Paris in 1209, all works on "physics," or natural philosophy, were interdicted to the monks as "sinful reading." Because Roger

Bacon, the greatest light of the Middle Ages, tried some experiments, he was accused of practising magic and imprisoned by two popes, Nicholas III and IV. In the famous decree of March 5th, 1616, against the system of Copernicus, sixty-nine years after the first edition of the *De Revolutionibus*, it is called "*falsa illa doctrina Pythagorica, Divinae Scripturae omnino adversans*," "that false Pythagorean doctrine, or system, so contrary to the sacred Scriptures." Even at a later period Kepler's Laws encountered the same prohibition in *Protestant Germany*. Perhaps it is not generally known that Descartes had a great work on which he had spent many years of his life and which he was just on the point of sending to press, when in 1633 the news of the sentence of the Inquisition passed on Galileo at Rome, reached him. He at once abandoned his plan of publication, and so the work was lost to his contemporaries, and except some fragments since found to his successors. There is scarcely a more significant event in the whole history of science than the fact that Copernicus at first concealed his discovery of the true solar system in an anagram, and that Kepler did the same thing in regard to his "Laws." They dared not trust those wonderful and divine truths to the ignorant and bigoted world; or rather to the ignorant and bigoted hierarchy which then governed it. Like Moses in the bulrushes, philosophic truth had to be hidden to save it from destruction; and like the infant Saviour, religious truth had to flee into strange lands to save *the young child's life* from the Herods of bigotry. What a universal and spontaneous shout of praise hailed the discovery of the planet Neptune by Leverrier in 1846, a discovery which has made the name of its author as enduring as the existence of the orb he revealed to an admiring world! How different, had Leverrier felt constrained, like Coper-

nicus and Kepler, through fear of ecclesiastical ignorance and persecution, to hide his discovery in an anagram!

Now, it was this hostility, waged against science for centuries by the priesthood who claimed a monopoly of all truth, that alienated scientific men from the high, and I feel bound to add, the paramount claims of religion. And what has religion gained by this warfare? Nothing. On the contrary, its opposition to science has been a long series of disastrous and disgraceful failures and defeats. What vast libraries of theological hostility to the advancement of science have gone into the "dead-letter" office in the history of all Christian nations! Nothing but Milton's "Limbo of Vanity" would be sufficiently capacious to hold them.

Nor, on the other hand, is the calamity any less which scientific men have brought upon themselves by leaving out the idea of God, and the sentiment of religion, from their investigations and discoveries in the field of nature's laws. They cannot fail to see that God works by uniform laws, and hence their reason must infer his unity. They must see, also, that He works for good ends, and hence the irresistible conclusion in favor of his benevolence. They see that His laws are the same everywhere; that the gravitation which sways the farthest planet is the same that binds the earth in its orbit, or brings a mote to its surface; and that the light which comes down from the remotest nebula holds common characteristics with that of the sun and moon, and is but a twin-beam, created by the same Father; and hence they ought to infer His constant presence and omnipotence, and forever to feel toward Him as to an all-surrounding and all-enveloping spirit of power and love. But philosophers have been prone to stop with the discovery of the law, and to forget the Lawmaker; to accept the gift, and forget the

Giver; and their conduct and their records sometimes seem to say: "Oh, if only the Deity were some fossil remain, so that geology could label Him and place Him in its cabinet; or if only He were a leaf of some extinct or some newly-discovered species of fern or lichen, so that botany could preserve Him in its *hortus siccus*, then, indeed, how delightful it would be to possess such a memorial of the All-in-All; but as He is only the All-in-All, we may ignore His existence and cease from daily communion with Him."

The first idea which a philosopher, *as a philosopher*, ever acquires, is the indissoluble connection by which cause and effect are bound together. Does not the same philosophy teach him that the present and the future life are bound together as indissolubly as any two events in either of them can be?

Do I not rightly say, then, that the greatest Demand of the Age is, that religion and science should be reconciled and should become coworkers for the blessing of man and the glory of God. The religious man must go with the scientific man to study God in His works. The scientific man must go with the religious man to worship God in His temples. Both must be men of secular knowledge. Both must be men of divine knowledge. The minister at God's altar must be able to look up and read the stars through the telescope of the astronomer; and the astronomer, through the precepts of the Christian religion and the example of Jesus Christ, must be able to look up, not to the stars only, but to God and to the immortality of men. The academy and the church must be but different apartments canopied by the same dome—the all-comprehending dome of divine Providence!

No man can worship intelligently any more of God than he knows. A man cannot worship God for His fulness of wisdom who is ignorant of the works in which that wisdom

has been displayed. So no man can worship God for His love who has no preception of that love which is His leading attribute. Just so far as we have false views of God, what better is our worship of Him than idolatry? We may render true worship and commit idolatry in the same train of ascriptions. So far as our views of God are just, it is true worship; so far as they are false, it must be idolatry.

And here let me recur again to what I before said respecting the wonderful results of combining the sciences—of forming, as it were, copartnerships between them, so as to effect grander results from their cooperative action than it would be possible to obtain from their isolated and solitary power—the imponderable forces with mechanics, for instance, physiology with psychology, and chemistry with almost everything. And so when the faculties of the intellect which make the political economist, are united to those sympathies of the heart which make the philanthropist, their combined power will scale heights of human happiness which no amount of human knowledge on the one hand, or intensity of love on the other, would ever be able alone to reach.

How brilliant and how useful have been the results, when criminal jurisprudence has sought the aid of science; or, to recur to my former illustration, has entered into copartnership with it. The detective police, with all their ingenuity, even under Fouché and Bonaparte, never had such flying messengers for the pursuit and arrest of fugitive offenders as is supplied by the magnetic telegraph, which instantaneously stations an anticipating officer in every city where a culprit may hie for refuge; which heralds his crime and paints his face, so that which way soever he may flee, if he runs from the arms of one police, he runs into the jaws of another! In how many scores of cases has chemistry tracked

out the poisoning murderer, and brought crimes to light which the criminal thought were forever buried in the grave! Here human science imitates Omniscience, or the All-Science, and even the corruption of his victim's body cannot save the malefactor from the effects of that analysis which can detect the deadly potion even after the organs themselves are decayed. In Prussia a thief robbed a barrel of its specie from a train of cars, filling the emptied cask with sand, so that no suspicion should be excited by its loss of weight. On consultation, Professor Ehrenberg sent to each of the stations at which the cars had stopped for a sample of the sand in its vicinity, and then by means of his microscope he identified the station from which the substituted sand had been taken. The station once ascertained, it was easy to fasten upon the culprit from among the small number of employees there.

Science has now a most extraordinary and beneficent enterprise in hand for detecting adulterations in articles of food. The atomic particles of different edibles or esculents, as of wheat or potatoes, for instance, have a determinate form, shape, and structure. Each atom has a distinctive peculiarity, *a family face*, by which it can be distinguished from all other kinds, as an African can be distinguished from a Caucasian, or a Jew from a Chinese. The cheaper substances, by which the more costly and valuable can be adulterated, have their respective physiognomies also. The microscope discerns between them as readily as a farmer discerns between his sheep and his swine.

The atom of the potato starch—the cheapest or one of the cheapest substances used for adulterating flour—is said to be marked with a *cross*; so that the moment the microscope is applied, all the particles of this ingredient turn state's evidence and make affidavit, certifying to the fraud under their own signature, "Potato Starch, his X mark!"

And such, yea, and far greater, will be the rewards of power and blessedness if science and religion can clasp hands in concord, and while science confers power religion will administer that power for beneficence alone; while the one investigates the ascending series of nature's laws, the other will mount to the topmost pinnacle of discovery, and thus stand habitually nearer to the Divine Intelligence; and while one adorns with the beauty of knowledge, the other will sanctify with the "beauty of holiness." In the hour of trial and in the agonies of death, how wretched is the philosopher, who, with all his learning, is without hope or trust in that Being on the threshold of whose judgment-seat he stands; and, on the other hand, how contemptible is the religious teacher whose "zeal without knowledge," in matters of religion, fermenting, like acid and alkali, with his positive errors on questions of philosophy, perpetually evolves the mephitic gases of mischievous superstition or ridiculous nonsense! The philosopher who blasphemes the holy laws of God from his impious heart and the clergyman who blasphemes the sacred order of nature from his ignorant head, are natural results of the unnatural divorce between science and religion. Job said that God "setteth an end to darkness." In regard to some who undertake to expound religious truth from the pulpit, it would be happy for the world if the "end" of their darkness had yet been reached. I trust St. Paul will not be held responsible for the outrageous use so often made of his admonition to Timothy respecting "the opposition of science, falsely so called;" for there has not been a true science for the last two hundred years against which this authority of the Apostle has not been invoked. "I think they are extremely mistaken," says Martin Luther, "who imagine the knowledge of philosophy and nature to be of no use to religion."

When Solomon said, "Wine is a mocker, and strong drink is raging," and when the Apostle Paul repeatedly classes "drunkenness" with the most foul and fatal of crimes, what confirmation of his texts does the Christian minister find in the sciences of pathology and psychology, which show alcohol to be among the deadliest of poisons for the body and endowed with demoniac power over the soul!

And again, what a beautiful demonstration, that our nearest worldly interests are best promoted by the performance of our highest duties, is found in the fact that all public charities for the blind, for the deaf and dumb, for the insane, for the idiotic, save far more money than they cost. Wise benevolence is the soundest political economy. Selfishness is loss; self-sacrifice is gain. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things (worldly needs) shall be added unto you."

Milman, in his great history of Christianity, remarks as follows: "Christianity may exist in a certain form in a nation of savages as well as in a nation of philosophers; yet its specific character will almost entirely depend upon the character of the people who are its votaries. It must be considered, therefore, in constant connection with that character; it will darken with the darkness and brighten with the light of each succeeding century; in an uncongenial time it will recede so far from its essential nature as scarcely to retain any sign of its divine original; it will advance with the advancement of human nature and keep up the moral to the utmost height of the intellectual culture of man."

How true is it that Christianity is made to shrink or expand to fit the intellectual and moral caliber of its disciples!

"I observed with astonishment," says Humboldt, "on the woody banks of the Orinoco, in the sports of the natives, that the excitement of electricity by friction was known to these

savage races, who occupy the very lowest place in the scale of humanity. Children may be seen to rub the dry, flat, and shining seeds or husks of a trailing plant until they are able to attract threads of cotton and pieces of bamboo cane. That which thus delights the naked, copper-colored Indians, is calculated to awaken in our minds a deep and earnest impression. What a chasm divides the electric pastime of the savages from the discovery of a metallic conductor, discharging its electric shocks, or a pile composed of many chemically decomposing substances, or a light-engendering, magnetic apparatus! In such a chasm lie buried thousands of years that compose the history of the intellectual development of mankind." As different as the subject of electricity is in the mind of Humboldt's Indian child and in the mind of Arago and Faraday, so different is Christianity in the mind of a barbarian neophyte and a Christian sage! Oh, it would be ten thousand times less afflictive to a pious heart to hear a blind savage attempting to explain Babbage's calculating machine, or Lord Rosse's telescope, than to hear an ignorant man expounding the attributes of the all-wise and all-beneficent Jehovah.

What reasonable man can doubt that a knowledge of the laws of God and of His divine order in nature would be most influential, not only in protecting men from falling into new delusions, but in eliminating error from that hotchpot of theologic beliefs which is the present scandal of Christendom! Since about the year 1840, tens and tens of thousands of men have been carried over to the delusions of Millerism. It is said that the "Christian" church has lost two thousand members in this way. From such an insanity, one ounce of philosophic brains would have saved them all!

The pagans of the Caroline Islands do not believe that the

future happiness or misery of the human soul was predestinated before its existence; or that its future condition is to depend at all upon what it has done or refused to do in this life; but they believe that after the soul has left the body by death, and while it is on its way to the spirit land, it is met by the good and the evil divinities who fight for it and battle over it, as Greek and Trojan battled over the dead body of Patroclus; and, as the supernal or infernal combatants chance to prevail, the soul is borne away to Paradise or to Hades. How different is this creed—that the eternal fate of a human soul is determined by the chances of a battle for its possession, carried on between rival divinities, after it has left the body—from the belief that the soul's fate is determined by predestination ages before it was born; and cannot a knowledge of the science of ethics, and of those universally recognized principles of honor and justice and equity by which righteous men are governed, and by which, therefore, we may suppose that God is governed, help us to arbitrate between such hostile opinions—perhaps to suggest a better faith?

And again, this very year is witnessing one of the most remarkable discussions that ever arrested the attention of the Christian world. An eminent professor (supposed to be Dr. Whewell of Trinity College, Cambridge, England, though the book is anonymous) in an English university has promulgated the opinion that of all the heavenly bodies—of all those stellar worlds that glorify the realms of space—our tiny speck of earth is the only one which is inhabited by rational and accountable beings. Though this globe, when compared with all the worlds around it, is not so much as a single leaf or blade of grass compared with all the vegetation that beautifies its surface, and though an insect nestling in a flower might as well say that all the luxuriant fields and

forests around him are a waste and a desert, and that he is the only object of his Maker's care, yet Dr. Whewell starts off on his exterminating career through the universe, depopulating planets and suns and galaxies, sparing only this earth-monad on which we dwell. This theory has earned for him the unenviable nickname of the "Star-Smasher." But why this work of annihilation? Why cover the universe with this pall of darkness and death? I suppose for no other reason than to evade an objection to one of his interpretations of the Scriptures. If all worlds are inhabited by moral agents like ours, and *if Christ be a part of the Godhead*, and if it be necessary for Him to appear in each world in order to make the infinite atonement for sin which must precede the salvation of a single soul, than as one infinity must be equal to another infinity—that is, the infinity of worlds must be co-equal with the infinity of duration—it becomes mathematically demonstrable that it would take the Saviour an eternity of time to go round the infinity of worlds, so that a portion of the worlds could never be reached by Him in order to be redeemed, to say nothing of the sad delay accruing to the early-fallen but late-redeemed universes.\* Hence a denial that there is any sufficient ground to suppose the existence of moral and rational beings throughout the stellar immensity,

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\* Without relying on the internal proof of the work itself, that Dr. Whewell was prompted and persuaded to make desolation of the whole universe except the earth in order to avoid the objection above suggested to his theological scheme, I find in a highly complimentary review of his essay in the September number, 1854, of *Blackwood's Magazine*, the following passage: "From beginning to end may be seen indications of a subtle and guarded logic . . . and above and infinitely beyond all, a reverent regard for the truths of a revealed religion, and an earnest desire to advance its interests by removing what, in his opinion, many deem a serious stumbling-block in the way of the devout Christian. That stumbling-block may be seen indicated in the audacious language which we have quoted from Thomas Paine (viz., 'that the system of a plurality of worlds renders the Christian faith at once little and ridiculous'). If this be the object," continues the reviewer, "which Dr. Whewell has had in view, and *who can doubt it?*" etc., p292.

with the exception of the very deplorable specimens which our earth has, in the main, hitherto exhibited! Hence waste and desolation everywhere but here; while here, as we all know, there is to a vast extent what is worse than waste and desolation.

Even if all the universes of stars could not be filled with rational, accountable, and immortal beings, to afford a theater of vaster amplitude for the display of the power and goodness of God, could not some of them be so filled? Must it all be barren and inane? And does not the bare statement of the case carry the idea that our heavenly Father found the creation of the race of Adam so unfortunate an experiment that He resolved never to try it again?

Everyone will see how close to atheism this opinion of Dr. Whewell approaches. After abolishing the creative benevolence of God in all the rest of His empire, we have only to abolish it on this sand-grain of earth, and the universe is reduced to a contemptible pageant; atheism reigns supreme over a morally void immensity! Although the author of this opinion is learned, yet in this very work he has recorded his opinion that *worldly knowledge* ought not to be "mixed up" with matters of *religious faith*. Here is the seminal principle of his giant birth of error. Hence, as it seems to me, he exhibits one of the most striking instances on record where the sore eyes of theology have sought to extinguish all the light of the universe rather than cure its own diseased organs by the open remedy of natural vision.

Not less disparaging to God's wisdom, though less destructive to His goodness, was the geologic theory, invented and put forth in 1839—only fifteen years ago—by the Reverend Dr. Pye Smith, in order to reconcile the then common interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis with the demon-

strations of geological science. Dr. Smith conceded so much to the science as to admit that our globe had existed for countless ages, and had been inhabited by various races of animals, before Adam was created; but for the sake of vindicating a *literal* interpretation of the Mosaic account of the creation—according to which sun, moon, stars, plants, animals, and man himself, were created not quite six thousand years ago, and all within the compass of six diurnal days of twenty-four hours each—he maintained that somewhere, perhaps in some central province of Asia—no one knows its latitude or longitude, and no geography or geology has discovered any trace of it—there is a spot, some “ten miles square,” like the District of Columbia, where, while all outside of it, in the other parts of the globe, “was life and light, there reigned for a time only death and darkness amid the welterings of a chaotic sea; and which, at the divine command, was penetrated by light, and occupied by dry land and ultimately, ere the end of the creative week, became a center in which certain plants and animals, and finally man himself, were created.” Now what a disgraceful instance is this of the tendency with which theological preconceptions are held in defiance of philosophical truth! To suppose that while all the geological eras, one after another, were passing through their immense cycles, and while all the rest of the earth was advancing to a state of preparation for the residence of man, a little “preserve” of chaos somewhere should be carefully fenced in and choicely kept until six thousand years ago, when the work was there done in six days which it had elsewhere occupied countless ages to perfect; and that Moses knew all about this six days’ work but did not know the other; or if he did know about it kept his knowledge to himself! How efficacious would be the union and coopera-

tion of true religion and true science in preventing such records of shame from being inscribed on the pages of history!

Everybody knows the effect of continued intermarriages among persons related by consanguinity. The cognate blood, unenriched and unstimulated from other fountains, soon breeds weakness, disease, and imbecility. Just so it is with a sect that shuts out truth because it was not embraced in the scheme of its founders. The ideas of such a sect have no alternative for their continued existence but *to breed in and in*, and this, by a psychological law as immutable as the physiological, soon begets a progeny of faith erroneous, absurd, imbecile, and idiotic.

But how can we woo Religion to wed Science? How can we reconcile Science, so long estranged, and now I fear more estranged than ever, to espouse Religion, and thus to accept the only bridegroom that is worthy of her queenly beauty and her magnificent dowry?—nuptials at which the Son of God himself might rejoice to be present, and the splendor of whose celebration would compel those who live by the waysides and hedges of error to come to the marriage feast.

I answer, science is not sectarian. It does not confine itself to any segment of the circle of philosophic truth but seeks to embrace the entire circumference. At the present day, a bigot in science cannot live. Its pure empyrean air either exorcises the demon of bigotry out of him, or sends him and it after the swine of the Gadarenes, to be choked in the sea of oblivion. Let any man at this time, in any scientific body or association in Christendom, defend any dogma on the authority of his government, or by any decree of old council, or assembly, or sanhedrim, against the facts of observation and the results of experiment, and he is considered as blaspheming against the “higher law” and his words accounted

as "vain babbling." He cannot be heard to set up theory against fact, authority against experience, or a tradition of a thousand years against the demonstration of yesterday. The only religion, therefore, with which science will freely and rejoicingly consent to live and work, is an unsectarian religion. Any other union is forced and unnatural, involving discord, dishonest compliances, and a suspension of progress in the pursuit of truth. In fine, any other union is not wedlock but concubinage only. Science has no creed or articles of faith which a man must subscribe before he can be allowed to enroll his name as her follower and to offer his acceptable contributions at her shrine. Science welcomes all new truth, all honest lovers of truth, and all honest inquirers after truth from whatever quarter they may come; and the recommendation of her votaries is not that they have attached themselves to the school of Werner or Hutton, of Newton or Laplace, *but that they have not*. The great book of Nature is her Bible. Devoutly she believes in that. "'Tis elder scripture, writ by God's own hand," and she suffers no one to shut it up in order that he may open in its stead some philosophy of the Dark Ages, or substitute for it some cosmogony of the heathen. And therefore science demands of religion that she, too, shall love truth supremely; not Talmuds, not acts of Parliament, or decrees of Councils or Synods; and that she shall subject the old interpretation to every new test which the continual evolution or unrolling of God's providence shall supply.

Science is the interpreter of nature. It reverently inquires; it listens to know; it seeks; it knocks to obtain communication; and then all that it does is reverently to record nature's processes and accept them as true. And it demands that religion shall proceed on similar exegetical principles. And

therefore, when religion says she has a revelation from God, which revelation is recorded in a book called the Bible, and that that book is therefore the very speech and utterance of God, and whenever read it is the same as though God himself were present and speaking its very words; and when God thus rises to speak from his own book, whether in the family, in the school, or the church, science proclaims that it is not only inconsistent, but impious, for any man or any body of men to rush forward and push Him—Jehovah—aside, and then read some government-prepared or man-prepared articles, as containing a better announcement of God's will, a superior exposition of His attributes than He, the all-wise, was himself about to announce; when, too, perhaps, the cardinal words of the substitute are nowhere to be found in the original! How can science ever coalesce and cooperate with any such form of religion as that which repudiates its own chosen and sovereign authority, vetoes its acknowledged Law-giver, and forges a code of its own, which it attempts to pass off *in* the very presence, and *to* the very Being who, having issued the original, must know the counterfeit? Such science must shun the presence of such religion, whether in the same mind, in the same institution, or in the same community. Neither in philosophic laboratory nor in Christian temple can they work together. What a wonderful fact it is that almost continually since the Dark Ages as we with self-glorification call them, men have been striving to find *reason* in heathen theologies but to exclude it from Christian theology!

And furthermore, it is one of the cardinal axioms of science at the present day never to commit itself on any doubtful or disputable questions by a set form of words. It deals in unqualified statements only in regard to the universally ac-

knowledge; but always uses hypotheses or subjunctives for what is questionable, or even gravely questioned. For, when any being less than omniscient binds himself to verbal article or dogma, he thereby turns language, which should be his instrument, into an iron incasement for imprisoning his soul; as though, having ceased to grow, its garments should be non-elastic with a close fit; or rather as though being dead it were meet that it should be buried. Should a mind which has thus walled itself in by a form of words strike by chance a new vein of truth, it may work that vein outward until it reaches the barrier set up by its own creed; but at that point it must stop, and all truth lying beyond that point in that direction, though reaching outward to infinity, must be abandoned, because it conflicts not with truth, for truth never conflicts with truth, but with what has been prejudged to be true. He must turn back, therefore, and relinquish it all. Again, perhaps, an earnest, investigating soul strikes another lode of truth trending in another direction; but soon the old barrier lies across its course, and again he must abandon all the treasures of discovery now lying within his grasp and retire to poverty and darkness in the center of his selfbuilt dungeon. And so, in whatever direction the love of truth and the freedom of thought may prompt exploration, the man who has tethered his mind by a form of words may go to the end of his line; but all the glorious universe of truth which lies beyond he must forego and deny. Hence every bigot, every man who binds himself by a form of words, inflicts upon himself a punishment like that which tyrants once inflicted upon rebels, whose bodies they sewed up in green hides and rolled out in the sun to dry, where the shrinking of the hides squeezed the victim to death. What myriads of souls has bigotry thus squeezed to death!

On the monument of the elder Herschel, at Upton, it is inscribed, "*coelorum perrupit claustra*"; he broke through the barriers of the skies; he transcended those boundaries with which former astronomers had, as it were, fenced in the heavens, and thus became the Columbus of the skies, exploring oceans of space before untraversed, and revealing stellar systems before unknown. Had he and his followers kept themselves within the old creed, all the utilities, the wonders, and the glories of modern astronomy would now be a nonentity to man! It is so of all truth; emphatically so of those religious truths which are connected with science.

Now this selfinflicted imprisonment, this selfchoking, is the very degradation and thralldom from which science, after centuries of struggle, has at last become emancipate, so that it now walks with Nature as Enoch walked with God. How then can it repudiate its glorious spiritual freedom and voluntarily put fetters upon its limbs? How can it coalesce and cooperate with any form of religion that still hugs its chains; that is ostentatious, even, of the wounds they have cut into its flesh, and would have its name articulated by their clanking? But science will love to form closest and most inseparable union with a religion that spurns all error, however time-hallowed, that aspires after all truth, whatever Pharisee, or Sadducee, or high-priest may discover it. If any reliance can be placed upon all the analogies of nature, it cannot be but that such science, joining hand and heart with such religion, will by their combined and therefore multiplied forces, enrich mankind with grander discoveries, pour new light upon the heavenward path of duty, and supply stronger and nobler motives to live in obedience to the will of God. If I may use a former illustration for a new purpose, the Gospel of Jesus Christ will be the telescope bringing down

the will of God from heaven and making one grand picture of that will to be placed in the hands of all men upon earth; and then each well-educated mind and pure heart will be a microscope, whose lens, applied to that part of the picture which embraces one's own condition and relations, will so wonderfully magnify every object in it as to make the path of duty and of happiness radiant with both heavenly and earthly light. Let Science and Religion then come together; let them be united in holy banns to be separated nevermore; and may Antioch College perform her part of this glorious work!

# Part VI

## BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS AT ANTIOCH

*Delivered by Horace Mann, June 27, 1857*

PRESIDENT MANN then delivered his Baccalaureate Address. Mr. Mann commenced with remarks concerning what was expected of college graduates and college faculties. The diploma given was a commendatory letter of introduction to the world; an official responsibility therefore rested upon those who gave the diplomas. They could not endorse vice, guilt, or incompetency with the seal of their commendation. The college faculty should guard the student against the moral danger of his situation, and was necessarily responsible for the direction which his growth of character takes. The address was characteristically beautiful and powerful—just what the public had been led to expect. . . . The conferring of degrees followed the Baccalaureate Address. The charge given by Horace Mann to each of the fifteen members of the first graduation class of Antioch College was most earnest and impressive.—From an eyewitness report of the first commencement of Antioch College, as reported by WHITELAW REID, in the *Xenia* (Ohio) "News," of which he was then editor. He later became famous as the associate and successor of Horace Greeley of the "New York Tribune."

Yellow Springs, July 3, 1857.

My dear Mr. Craig: *A new crisis has come to our affairs.*

*First, however, let me say that we have had a glorious Commencement. Governor Chase was here and he says it surpassed anything he ever saw in Ohio. Reverend Dr. Gannett was here from Boston, and he says that, in all the particulars that affect a moral and accountable being, they never have had anything to compare with it at the East.*

*The Board has met and elected a new Board. Antioch College has "failed." All its property is assigned for the payment of its debts. The whole scholarship system will be abolished. All the professors, including your humble servant, were decapitated by the old Board. The new one, however, did replace the president's head before the flesh and nerves had become wholly cold and lifeless; so that, with care, they may stick together once more. . . .*

*Now, my dear friend, we have a chance for a college such as was never known before. In my Baccalaureate on Wednesday, I laid down the great doctrine, that the power of knowledge ought never to be added to the power of vice; that up to the time of entering a college-class, the most vicious and abandoned should be educated; and the more so, the more so. But, after that, none but the virtuous, the earnest, those who give confident promise of righteousness or rightdoing, should be invested with the prerogatives and enchantments of knowledge. . . .*

*Yours in the Lord and Antioch,*

HORACE MANN.

(From MARY MANN's Life, 58:502-03)

## Baccalaureate Address of 1857

*Young Ladies and Gentlemen of the Graduating Class:*

This will be a memorable day in your recollections and in mine, and in those of all the friends of Antioch College. It is the first "Commencement Day" of our institution. Four years ago this College opened with no undergraduate class higher than the freshman, and some of you were those freshmen. Today therefore finishes your academic career and ushers you into that ampler sphere of honor and duty we call the "World." Hence to you, this must be a day full of tender recollections, full of inspiring anticipations. The great past and the greater future are struggling for mastery in your bosoms, and are heaving them with contending emotions. Even now I imagine that you hear the trumpet of the battle of life sounding in your ears and the voice of destiny summoning you to deeds of honor and usefulness, such as will make your *Alma Mater*—your Nursing Mother—rejoice to call you her firstborn.

In conferring upon a graduating class the honors of a college degree, and in certifying that fact by the testimonial of a college diploma, it is a well-established custom that the person standing in my place should make an Address to those standing in yours. In addition to this, I have been specially requested by you to comply with this time-honored usage. As you have so long and so faithfully complied with my requests, I do not feel at liberty to disregard yours.

On an occasion like the present—which, in the history of any institution, can never happen but once—I feel called upon

to discuss what seems to me the most important relation which can exist between a college and the public. It is this:

What, in point of moral conduct and character, has the public—the community at large—a right to expect from college graduates?

Or in different terms though identical in substance: What has the public, or community at large, a right to expect of college faculties in regard to the moral conduct and character of those upon whom they bestow the dignities and prerogatives of an academic degree?

In this question, it is plain to be seen that our conduct as a faculty, and your supposed character as *alumni* of this College, are involved.

What the *literary* and *scientific* character of graduates ought to be has been abundantly discussed. The present topic involves considerations of a far higher order.

A diploma is a letter of credit addressed, not to an individual, but to the world. It purports to say, and it does virtually if not expressly say, that its bearer has enjoyed superior advantages, and therefore that he is qualified to perform duties and to fill places of honor and trust in some good degree proportionate to the advantages he has enjoyed. Hence it is plainly a certificate of educational preeminence. It seems to me equally clear that it also imports good moral conduct and a high moral character. Any interpretation that would allow a college faculty to give this letter of credit to one profligate member in a class of *fifty*, would allow them to give it to *fifty* profligate members—that is, to a whole class of profligates. If by universal consent, the diploma is *prima facie* evidence of the bearer's superior attainments, liable of course to be rebutted by self-displays of ignorance, then there

is still stronger reason why it should be presumptive evidence of good habits, of sobriety, and exemplariness of life. This should be so because the evils of vice are infinitely greater than the evils of ignorance. The plague of Egyptian darkness was bad enough, but the plague of the frogs and the lice and the murrain and the blood and the pestilence was a thousand times worse. Ignorance is a feeble accomplice or coadjutor with vice in tormenting the world. They make a partnership, which as the enemy of mankind, is comparatively powerless and contemptible. But an alliance between knowledge and vice dazzles, intoxicates, overwhelms with a Red Sea of ruin. When ignorance and vice league together, their most conspicuous products are ridiculousness and nonsense. When talent and vice confederate, they lead a third part of the stars of heaven after them to perdition. If we must have the monkey's mischief, it is fortunate that he has only a monkey's brains with which to invent it. The martial spirit of a tiger is bad enough, for after man, I suppose the tiger to be the greatest military character in all zoology, but if we must have the tiger's military proclivities, for God's sake, let us not have Napoleon's intellect to direct them. A college had a thousand times better indorse a score of dunces as learned than one villain as trustworthy. It is sufficiently calamitous to have a crawling, snail-paced reptile in the shape of a man—one who, though venomous, is incapable of scattering his venom wide and far; but to give the wings of education to such a monster and turn him into a flying dragon, and accredit him to go over the earth and make ruin common—this would seem to be the appropriate function of pandemonium and the underworld, but not of colleges.

Is it not plain, then, that an official responsibility attaches to the faculties of colleges for the moral character of those

on whom they confer the honors of a degree? It may perhaps show a very charitable and forgiving spirit towards a villain who has paid all his college bills, to give him a diploma; but is it charitable towards the future victims of his villainy, whose confidence may be won through the persuasiveness of that very recommendation? In pecuniary matters, the laws of the land provide that whoever volunteers to become sponsor for another's moneyed credit beforehand, shall be responsible for his payments afterwards. A recommendation of solvency is held to be a warranty of it. It obliges its author to make good whatever losses are fairly chargeable to the credit it obtained. It is an antecedent suretyship or guaranty, and the commerce of the world would be greatly restricted, the enterprise of upright and intelligent young men would be grievously crippled, were the indorsers of pecuniary ability to be absolved from pecuniary liability. But why should the precious and enduring interests of morality be estimated at a less value or protected by less stringent guaranties than the commodities of the marketplace? If a seller who has been defrauded by an accredited purchaser may legally reimburse himself from the indorser's pockets, why should the character of a college faculty escape rebuke, when a family or a community has its peace or its happiness invaded by one who bears a diploma of honorable graduation fresh from its hands? If a pecuniary mulct punishes the one, why not a general outcry of condemnation the other?

It is a momentous fact that the faculties of the colleges in this country are stationed at the door of the three learned professions, and at the entrance, indeed, of all the great avenues to posts of honor and emolument which life offers to men. They are therefore bound to see that no one crosses the threshold of their sanctuary to enter any of these walks

of profit and renown who is addicted to low and mean associations, or branded with the stigma of any flagrant vice or misconduct; and those are the enemies of mankind—not of contemporaries only but of posterity—who, because of parentage, or wealth, or private friendship, or any other sinister motive whatever, place the official seal of their approval upon dissolute, or profligate, or intemperate characters. The superintendent of the Mint dares not send out a single piece of base coin stamped with the image and superscription of the government; for he well knows that his forgery of a dime would cost him his official head. How then can a college faculty give currency to spurious characters without incurring common reprobation? How pollute their seal of honor by using it to stamp impurity with the emblems of virtue? How pour the chrism of education upon the head of full-blown depravity?

The thesis, then, which I submit is this: A vicious young man is unworthy the prerogatives of a college education and the honors of a college diploma. With my consent, he never shall have them. Whenever or wherever brought into the relation of college teacher to such a young man, I will provoke a divine and fatal quarrel with him—divine in its moral origin, fatal to his hopes of graduation. Would anyone dispute the soundness of this doctrine in regard to an abandoned young woman? Why then, in regard to an abandoned young man whose scope and power of harm-doing is so much greater? As education, aye, even the reputation of an education, is a passport to influential stations in society, not even that reputation should be bestowed upon a vicious object. Let no association of ideas derived from a man's literary or local antecedents give him facilities for gaining admission into circles he otherwise might never debase, or

add weight to an evil example, without whose influence he otherwise might never beguile.

A college is a place where character is developed with fearful rapidity. Seeds which might never, or not for years, have germinated at home, spring into sudden vitality and shoot up with amazing luxuriance when brought within the actinic influence of numbers and of institutional excitements. This explains why a college government has a far more arduous task with each of its numerous pupils than a parent with each of his small number of children. And hence, not merely the expediency but the necessity for stronger antidotes and curatives than would suffice for domestic government.

In an humble condition a young man may have principle or prudence enough to restrain him within the paths of rectitude. But if he desires to qualify himself for wider fields of honorable activity, and therefore seeks to master the literature that makes a scholar, and the science that makes a philosopher, and the laws and histories and economies that make a statesman, and if he thereby emerges from that humble sphere where the temptations are few and the ordinary supports of rectitude sufficient and ascends into the region of great passions and great ambitions, where Fame waves her glittering prizes before his eyes, and Pride and Hope thrill him with their magnificent promises, and even a dim phantom of Failure stings him to madness; then, if he has not moral principle for his pole-star, if he is not inwardly sworn to an obedience to all the Divine Laws, he is a man predestined to perdition. Fate has already prepared her revenges for him. He falls like Lucifer, son of the morning, and every beholder mourns that loftiness of his ascent whence sinful gravitations only plunge him into a deeper gulf of infamy. When, therefore, a youth first goes to college from the quiet

circle and narrow horizon of home and enters upon scenes beset with thick temptations, where bodily appetites may find illicit indulgence and the soul's perversities may prompt to unhallowed speculations; where the rights of thought are in danger of being practically translated into the rights of passion, and the corollaries drawn from free-agency shall be free-license; then, oh! how much he needs, and happy, thrice happy if he finds some ever-wakeful guardian and counsellor who can outbalance his present seducements to ruin by his yearnings after future honor and usefulness, and who, when the tempting Satans stand by his side, can teach him to wield the sword of Michael for their smiting.

Hence it is the duty of every teacher to explain to the pupils under his care, just as far and as fast as they are able to understand him, the universally acknowledged plan on which a human being is constructed. Man was made to be good—if good to be happy, if not good to be miserable—just as much as a swan's feet were made for swimming or a lark's wings for soaring. Every man has an animal nature, a lower tier of endowments, adapted to subordinate uses and gratifications. But all gratifications of this class are limited in their extent and short in their duration, and the universal law by which they are governed is that over-indulgence produces under-enjoyment. As we rise to the second order of faculties—the intellectual—the circuit or amplitude of gratifications is enlarged, their duration is prolonged, and the exquisiteness of enjoyment is enhanced. But it is only when a man becomes conscious of his divine capabilities; it is only when his moral and religious nature awakens or is awakened into activity that the area of his delights expands into boundlessness, that those delights become coextensive with eternity and brim to overflowing his ever-increasing capacities of

rapture and ecstasy. Hence one of the first things to be taught to a young man is, that though he were possessed of all the wealth of the world, he cannot afford to be an inebriate and a glutton, because each present excess extinguishes a thousand future enjoyments. He is like one who has been invited to a banquet of the gods, but stops to gorge himself at a subterranean cook-shop on the way. Such a man might as well roll a hot iron over his tongue cauterizing all its *papillae*, and then complain that he has lost all the normal zests of the palate. It is a universal law that the plucking of a flower is the destruction of the fruit. The future is to be just as present as the present now is. Day for day and hour for hour, the future will be worth more when it comes than the present is now worth; because we shall then possess greater capacities of happiness and greater susceptibilities of pain than we now possess. So no man can afford to be a sensualist; for he exchanges nectar and ambrosia for garbage. Such is our constitution that even for every bodily gratification, the last refinement of zest, the keenest edge of delight, is always derived from the soul's innocence and purity. Nay, a man cannot afford to be a philosopher, or an orator, or a poet, merely; for the highest achievements of talent and genius—language, poetry, art, mathematics—grand and enrapturing as they now seem to us, are only the tuning of the instruments with which the many-voiced orchestra of the soul shall hereafter peal its *Jubilate*. A great intellect without morals and religion is but the *torso* of a Hercules.

I may be charged with entertaining a poetic idea of a college student. Even if so, I hope to be able to prove that it relates to didactic poetry rather than to romantic. The natural distinction is immense between the student and the worldling. The student sets things in the mind—*within*.

The worldling sets or establishes things outside of the mind—*without*. The latter labors directly for material treasure; the former for immaterial. The one gathers of the perishable earth for the perishable body; the other, of the imperishable elements of the universe for the imperishable soul. Lands, goods, gold, are the pursuit of the one; ideas, truth, beauty, of the other. The one ministers to the senses and passions as if they were sovereign; in the other, all the senses and passions minister to the sovereign soul. Hence, from the very nature of the case, the student agrees to forego all gratifications incompatible with the soul's aspirings after excellence. The paths of the two diverge at a large angle, and they go different ways to pay their worship in different temples to different divinities. In the worldling's sphere of business or ambition, all is tumultuous, competitive, grasping and counter-grasping—like drowning men, grappling and struggling, each to keep his own head above the waters till, oftentimes, all sink together. In the student's sphere there is activity without strife; there is accumulation of wealth which makes no one poor; there is all the prowess and the triumph of conquest with none of the miseries or humiliations of captivity. And these things are necessarily so because in whatever pertains to earthly goods, there is a limit to quantity and an exclusiveness of ownership. Even justice often seems but little more than organized selfishness—as that is yours, because this is mine. If I possess gold, or diamonds, or pearls, they are mine alone, and your crossing my threshold to obtain them is trespass, or theft, or robbery. If I gather luxuries in a foreign land, they must sail to my port, be brought to my city for my house to enrich my table, or wardrobe, or equipage. Not so in the polity or jurisprudence of the soul. A beautiful thought thrills the hearts of all mankind with one

electric sweep, and everybody is its rejoicing owner. A new discovery in nature's laws gives winged velocity to every foot and puts a Titan's strength in every arm. When Fulton and his successors applied the power of steam to locomotion, did not we who in our power to traverse ocean and land, went to bed pygmies, wake up giants? Faust and Gutenberg bequeathed to all the art of embalming thought for immortality, and by a process stronger than any legal entailment made all men heirs of unspeakable wealth forever. Before Morse discovered the telegraph, I could think of my distant friend and bemoan our ignorance of each other's condition. Now, though he be at the distance of a thousand miles, I can converse with him *tête-à-tête*, across a continent as across a dinner-table. When Lord Rosse constructed his six-foot telescope, he enlarged the pupil of the human eye to the same diameter, revealing the wealth of immensity and enrapturing us with so much more of the vision and glory of the regalia of God. In fine, the student does not deal with limited quantities and meagre possessions; for he is a citizen of that nobler Republic to which the richest Cubas and Central Americas are continually "annexed," without the meanesses, the piracies, and the infamies of the freebooter. Dr. Kane achieving knowledge for all mankind, and not Captain Kidd pirating for himself, is his exemplar. It is so even more emphatically in the subjunctive world of mind. A new spiritual or didactic philosophy, or a new poem, beautiful with pearl-colored words and weighty with ingots of thought, shines into all men's hearts like a new unveiling of the face of God. It feeds adoration as fuel feeds fire and both author and reader are exalted towards the excellency they adore.

A young man of fair intelligence and an uncorrupted heart

cannot have been in a college class for a single year without perceiving that he has crossed a boundary line and entered a new realm—the realm of thoughts instead of the realm of the senses. His first lessons in philosophy teach him that he is in the midst of fixed and immutable principles. He sees that the laws of nature are but the thoughts of God. He knows that when he obeys the teachings of Omniscience, then Omnipotence indorses his success.

The reflecting student cannot have been in college for a single year, without discovering that there is a *periodicity* in his nature. Under the force of habit, the most difficult things become easy; and at their stated times, they come, as it were, and ask to be done. Duties which at first cost a struggle pass quietly into routine. By persistence in right-doing all the lower faculties of our nature become automatic, self-impelling, self-directing. By righteous selfcontrol, our inordinate passions and appetites lose their vehemence, become tame and docile, and at last, simply mechanical in their operations.

So of the intellectual faculties. Every cultivated mind which has arrived at mature age knows that what at first cost great efforts is now performed without consciousness, or at least without the memory of consciousness. Ideas which once seemed heavy as the hills to lift are now handled like toys. Heights to which the tired wing could scarcely soar are now the common plane or level of thought or are even looked down upon as valleys from an ascended hill. Combinations which could hardly be grasped with straining arms are now held in the hollow of the hand. Milton represents his devils as tearing up the hills by their shaggy tops and hurling them at their assailants. This, which would be a miracle to pygmies, would be pastime to Titans.

It is a proverbial saying that "habit is a second nature." Well was the question put, "What then is the first?" Despite Shakespeare, it is not difficult so to transform our functions that ginger will not be "hot i' the mouth." The intemperate man revolutionizes his whole physical nature more than God by his miracle did the stomach of Nebuchadnezzar, when He fitted it to digest grass. The glorious truth is that habit has as much power to elevate as to debase us.

In view of these and kindred truths, the fact which impresses me with a sense of the Divine wisdom and goodness, more deeply than any other proof afforded by our whole organization, is this: Just in proportion as our nature is expanded and strengthened, all its earlier operations become automatic or mechanical. All customary duties are performed without conscious effort, as the heart beats or as the lungs swell and subside. All the physical and the lower portions of the intellectual and moral functions pass, one after another, out of the domain of the voluntary into that of the involuntary nerves. There is no longer a necessity to charge memory with the performance of common duties. The time and the occasion bring the performance as cause brings effect. We have gauged our faculties to a prescribed kind of work, as an artisan gauges his machine, and then without our special cognizance, and though the machine be left to itself, the work is done. Hence the higher capacities of the soul stand discharged from menial watching and anxiety. They are released for nobler employments or achievements which in their turn, as the soul is enfranchised for still loftier spheres of labor, will become normal and self-executing and pass from the domain of consciousness and effort into that of spontaneity. It is in this way that the intellectual and moral character of man grows up, at the same time, into sturdiness and loftiness. He mingles

his science with Omniscience or All-science, and his potency with Omnipotence, until one can hardly tell which is which. He incorporates himself into the body of the directing forces of the universe, moves with it in its eternal progression, and chants with it its everlasting hosannas. And yet—such is the wonderful goodness of God!—with all this release from solicitude and care over those organs and faculties which have now been marshalled into the line of the divine forces and trained to keep step with them in their stupendous march, the true man is not bereft of a single flavor or perfume of any joy; not a single zest or appetency for all the delights of all his nature is deadened; not one thrill of rapture lost. Mark this, oh, man: it is disease, either of the body or the soul, that destroys all lusciousness and exquisiteness and ecstasy. But voluntary and conscious assent to God's laws consolidating by habitude into involuntary and spontaneous practice marks the highest conceivable condition of our moral health. It is a health which is justified for being, in being, and therefore has the uncounted and ever-increasing joys of life gratuitously.

I have a thousand times been astonished at men's expression of astonishment concerning noble deeds. When a righteous man spurns great temptations, when a subject defies the terrors of majesty, as Daniel defied Darius, or a stripling confronts a giant, as David confronted Goliath, the world cries out, what moral courage! what intrepidity! what self-sacrifice! In this they change the truth end for end. To the habitually good man, to one who has taken the law of God for his guide, there is no more moral courage in doing right than there is in the flow of rivers or the ascent of flame. To do the contrary would demand the sacrifice—sacrifice greater than suicide to a lover of life.

But this mighty power for good, like mighty oaks, has its feeble beginnings, its tiny germ. More than anywhere else, it begins in selfcontrol—in a subjugation of the bodily appetites and desires. It cuts off the hydra heads of passion and cauterizes the living wound that they may not sprout out anew. Each fresh acquisition of strength gives ability for greater effort, and greater effort elaborates new strength; until at length, all the mutinous and insurgent forces of the soul are brought into consentaneous action with the Higher Law. The habitual sovereign over his own desires becomes like King Mithridates who could drive sixteen yoke of horses in his chariot at once, and with rein and bit, could snap the under jawbone of any one of them that attempted to prance or caricole out of the harness.

Thus, my young friends, by this gracious law of the good God, the passive and the active side of man's nature support and glorify each other—like the banyan whose every branch sends down a rooted column into the earth for strength and whose every column sends up a towering crown into the sky for beauty. If, as the poets say, old age is the autumn of life, surely the old age of such a life is like a tropical autumn—its orchards and groves brilliant with flowers while bending with fruits.

Hence the very air and bearing of the true student, on being withdrawn from scenes of grossness and sensuality and being introduced into those of grand ideas and lofty emotions, will *import* that he now begins to disdain the trivialities and follies of which, in his unregenerate state of worldly-mindedness, he was enamored. Amid the jostlings which before would have unbalanced him, he now stands in firm equipoise; for his thoughts are of the august processions of nature's works. With each new philosophic truth which he learns and

with each new thrill of love for his fellowmen which he feels, he perceives that so much of God's nature has passed into him; and hence so far he feels, like his Creator, strong and happy. What the world flatters as "moral intrepidity" is becoming his habitual, normal state of mind; for he sees the vast chain of cause and effect that binds the past and the future eternities in its adamantine grasp and he therefore knows that every righteous act thrown into the great current of providential events, though swept beneath the surface for a thousand years, will be watched by the All-Seeing Eye, and will at last emerge, a ministering seraph for His everlasting honor and glory.

The vivifying light of great thoughts and pure emotions cannot long exist in the human mind without permeating and illuminating the tenement that contains it. The pure heat of mental and moral fervor dissipates grossness, or it vitrifies what it cannot evaporate, turning opacity into transparence. How often have I witnessed this beautiful process in members of this institution—a transmutation of pottery into porcelain—as the student's glowing love for knowledge smelted off the impurities of the worldling. Not Moses alone, coming down from holding communion with God on Mount Sinai, wears a shining face, but every man who holds communion with lofty thoughts and feeds his soul with the manna of righteousness radiates from his countenance something of the resplendence of heavenly light.

The true student working under wise instructors at proportioned labors always succeeds; and at every success a shout of victory and a song of gratulation is uttered and sung to his inward ear. Hence who can be happier than the student, especially the religious-minded student, not with clamorous revelries, but with the alternation of growing strength and

acknowledged victory, steady in their succession as the systole and diastole of the heart!

While, however, I would vehemently condemn all brawling jollities or sports unworthy the nobler faculties of man, let me advance an earnest plea in behalf of elegant and refined mirthfulness. I love cheerfulness and hilarity and wit founded upon the subtle and almost magical relations of things. Wit is an intellectual faculty, and God placed its organ at the outer angle of the forehead so that it may look all ways for subjects of merriment. Kingsley, than whom a more religious man has not written in our day, and whose love of nature is only less than his love of humanity, suggests that there are certain animals whom God created in the spirit of fun. I like the Homeric idea that the gods of Olympus loved a joke. I refuse my approval only because their jokes were unworthy of gods. The element of wit, like that of benevolence or veneration, is within us, and the sources of its legitimate gratification are all around us and inexhaustible. The subtle genius who can discern startling or incongruous relations and thus create delightful surprises is, next to him who can discern a new truth, a benefactor to mankind. A jocose physician will restore more patients by his jokes than by his physic, and a witticism that hits the mark will disperse a mob quicker than bullets that hit the men.\* How exhila-

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\* After the French revolution of 1848 which dethroned Louis Philippe, Lamartine, who had been placed at the head of the Provisional Government and who had enjoyed unbounded popularity, suddenly incurred the vengeance of the Parisian mob who marched forthwith to the Hotel de Ville, where Lamartine and his colleagues were in council, and demanded the presence of their foredoomed victim. No sooner had he appeared on the balcony than a wild roar like the noise of many waters filled the air: "*His head, his head,*" shouted the angry mob. "*My head,*" said Lamartine, "*would to God you all had it on your shoulders!*" The infinite contrast of ideas between trampling his head under their feet for vengeance, or wearing it on their shoulders for wisdom and guidance, transformed them suddenly as another Pentecost, and he escaped.

rating to think of some master-stroke of wit, started thousands of years ago, descending along the path of time, crackling and coruscating, creating new explosions of laughter before the old echoes have died away, expanding both mouth and heart of all men, until, in our day and time, it flaps and vibrates all living diaphragms, and is then destined like a *feu de joie* to run down the line of all future generations. Ignorance and the brutishness of ignorance, crime and the retributions of crime, can alone extinguish this love of mirthfulness in the heart of man. It is bad enough to see a *man* who always looks as Adam may be supposed to have looked the morning after the fall, but a *child* that never laughs is one of the saddest sights in the world.

But mirthfulness should always be associated with the higher faculties. When allied with the lower or animal propensities of men, it is as debasing as it is elevating when associated with the higher nature. It should always be employed to adorn benevolence and wisdom, and to increase our scorn for falsehood and our righteous detestation of hypocrisy. To be attracted by one of the most attractive of all things, warm-blooded laughter—and when you expect to see a Hyperion, to behold instead only the foul eyes of a Satyr leering out upon you, is one of the sorest and most grievous of moral affronts. There can be no greater misalliance than that of genius and vice, or, what is almost as fatal, that of education and vice.

What is remarkable and most pertinent to our purpose here is that almost all those living and enduring treasures which now constitute the world's "*capital stock of wit*" have come from the scholar. In this single department the true student finds a thousandfold compensation for all the coarse buffooneries and vulgar jollifications of the world. But let

him remember that his wit, in order to be enduring, must be genuine, heart-exhilarating, truth-flashing, virtue-protecting, vice-exposing—not the empty laughter of Bacchus nor the loathsome grinnings of Silenus.

Nothing unveils a man's character so suddenly and so surely as what he laughs at. Laughter is so unpremeditated and spontaneous that it turns the soul inside out before one has time to think. The moral nature of that man needs to be reconstructed who laughs at what is obscene, profane, or wicked. The sardonic grin is painful as the bite of a viper. The hyena laughs, the saint laughs; what an infinitude of moral distance lies between them!

The earnest college student, under proper intellectual and moral illuminations, and however unfortunate may have been his early education and associations, will soon give evidence that he is undergoing a refining process of character. His first change will be to repudiate and spurn all those monkeyisms of "trick" and "prank" and "practical joke," as they are called, which descend in college life from one low order of students to another—the legacy of folly to fools. We all know that there are colleges in this country whose vicinity to poultry-yards and hen-roosts is more formidable than if every building on the college premises were a burrow for Samson's foxes. The doctrine of the "Golden Rule" as applied to the whole *risible* nature of man, is simply this: "*That is not fun which is not fun for both sides.*"

For the coarse allurements of sense, the student has the serene and refining joys of sentiment. For the precarious and spasmodic delights which seem to come fortuitously to one who lives in what appears to him to be a world of chance, the student knows that he lives in the midst of everlasting laws, as beneficent as they are immutable, and that he has

the power so to adjust events to moral forces as to produce happiness with far more certainty than a manufacturer can make cloth from wool or a miller flour from wheat. To his anointed vision, therefore, all vice is an insanity because it is the palpable exchange of good for evil, and all virtue is a demonstration because it is the palpable exchange of evil for good.

The student sees arguments for the immortality of the soul, such as the uneducated mind can never comprehend, and hence he derives motives for purity of heart and rectitude of life whose sovereign grasp and hold of the moral nature no one else can know. This is of unspeakable worth; for without the doctrine of a retributive immortality, I look upon all the divinest aspirations after excellence and the most enduring moral heroism, as only a fleeting pageantry—almost as unsatisfying to the spontaneous yearnings of the human heart, almost as disproportioned to the grandeur of the human soul, as the feats of Punch and Judy in a puppet-show. Without the doctrine of a retributive immortality, I look upon this midnight concave of starry worlds around us, with the magnificent sweep of their orbits and the unerring periodicity of their returns as no better than a game at marbles.

I hope I may be permitted to say that one of the dearest ambitions of my past life has been to secure a full, generous, common school education to every child born within the boundary of our free republican institutions. Nor did I ever feel the necessity and the preciousness of such an enterprise more deeply than now. The mission of the common school is one of the grandest, the most beneficent of missions. Its first office is that of such a formation of character as will supersede the necessity of reformation. But in the present

state of society, it has quite as much to do in pruning as in training. The vicious sentiments and noxious habits into whose midst so many children are born, and which, therefore, they imbibe as inevitably as they do their mother's milk—these it is the sacred function of the common school to extirpate and abolish. For this purpose every child should pass into life through its avenue; and I believe this country will soon see the necessity of requiring that every child not voluntarily educated by its parents shall be compulsorily educated by the state.

So far our path of duty seems plain. But at this point, or soon after reaching this point, I come to a halting-place, where we should rest and take counsel as to the future. When our youth have passed through the common school, and also through the academy or preparatory school, and have at length enrolled their names in college books, then it is almost universally true that their characters have taken their bent—that they have got what Dr. Paley calls “a holding turn,” so that from their existing elements we can predict their future orbits with a kind of astronomical certainty. At this period, in my opinion, their time of educational probation draws to a close.

Even here, however, let us lean to the side of hope and mercy. Even here, stern as is the duty we owe to the world, and Brutus-like, selfblinded in our judgments to all the appeals of parental affection, as we ought to be; yet here, where the student does first enter upon his collegiate career, I desire to put in one plea of charity in his behalf. If his character be in apparent equipoise between right and wrong—nay, though the wrong threatens to overbear the right; yet if the scale trembles as though some electric thrill of duty still pulsated and struggled within it; if the elective moral

affinities still leave it doubtful whether they will crystallize around the nucleus of evil or of good; then, for humanity's sake, for God's sake, ply all of skill which the wisest and most loving can command, exhaust the whole armory of earthly and of heavenly motives, to recall and to save. Spare until you despair. But if all these appliances fail; if expostulations and tearful yearnings are flouted back; if rebukes administered in love only beget mutiny or defiance; then let the unrelenting blow fall—let it fall; and though it fall on child or brother, on patron or friend, let it fall. I proclaim it to be an offence against public morality for any college to graduate a vicious young man. When, therefore, a college student persists in criminal habits, when he will walk straight forward towards a criminal life, I hold that the fulness of time has come to execute upon him that passage of Scripture which says, "Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire."

But it may be said we should not withhold education from the profligate or the base-minded; *for he may change his character*. I reply, let him change his character first. If the Prodigal Son returns tearful and penitent, run to meet him and kill the fatted calf and make general jubilee. But if he comes home only to have his infamous diseases cured and to get another outfit for another infamous expedition, he is a false father who furnishes the supplies.

And here rises before us at full length that great theme which I wish I had time more adequately to discuss: the power of colleges over the welfare of mankind, through the influence of those whom they educate, or refuse to educate.

On its colleges, far more than on its legislatures, does the wellbeing of a country depend—on its education more than on its legislation. Education has become an essential element

of success in all enterprises. No cause, not even the highest and purest, can prosper in our day without making education its ally. Nine-tenths of all the leading men, in church and state, in this community and in all communities, have become leaders among men, and speak "with authority" to men, because of the education which colleges conferred upon them. Almost the only considerable exception to this rule among us is found in the low region of partisan politics.

Now if it were universally understood, as it so easily might be, that no college would ever honor by a degree, or long retain upon its rolls, any student who would drink, or gamble, or blaspheme, or lie—anyone who prefers "toys and lust and wine" to the exalted satisfactions of truth and duty, or order and sobriety—then every young man who should resolve to enter college would prepare himself for that purpose in his habits just as much as he would in his classics. As a necessary prerequisite, all candidates would bring themselves within the action of antidotal or reformatory influences. In short, in order to obtain the position, they would comply with the required conditions.

Are there any parents among us who, through wealth, or pride, or general turpitude of character, would not subject their children to our moral tests or rear them up to our moral standards, let them found a college on their own account, and have an academical Botany Bay all to themselves, with Judas and Tom Paine and Brigham Young for a faculty, and some queen of the Cyprians—some Fanny Ellsler or Lola Montes—as head of the Female Department.

In the first place, a college which graduates a bad young man imposes upon one of the noblest instincts of human nature. There is scarcely any natural sentiment more firmly seated in the heart of man than that of reverence for knowl-

edge. In all ages ignorant men have deified learning and granted an apotheosis to those whom they esteemed morally great and good. How unnatural, then, how sacrilegious, to profane these divine promptings of the unsophisticated heart of mankind by sending out Pharaohs and Potiphars instead of men like Moses and women like Deborah, as guides and leaders of the people!

Dr. Paley says that "to send out an uneducated child into the world is little better than to turn out a mad dog or a wild beast into the streets." I never could understand how a man of such strong sense as Dr. Paley should intimate that a bad child is but "little *better*" than "a mad dog or a wild beast." Why, my friends, there is virus enough in one bad man, with his Gorgon head, to strike the whole canine race with hydrophobia, could he be brought into mesmeric relation with them; and all the wild beasts in mountain and jungle are infinitely less perilous than one debaucher of public morals. The most formidable and fatal of all monsters to be found on land or sea, is a learned, eloquent, clear-headed, vile-hearted man.

A college faculty then, I say, ought to confer the honors and the prerogatives of a degree upon no one whose conduct and character while an undergraduate has not promised that he will throw his influence on the side of right in the affairs of the world. In regard to the common virtues and vices that bless or that torment society, a graduate of a college should be more than a neutral; he should not be a mere zero which other men may place at the left hand of their digits.

A college should be a nursery for the principles of sobriety and for all noble aspirations, whence vigorous scions can be taken wherewith to ingraft the wild stock of popular appetite and passion which otherwise might grow into public inebria-

tion and licentiousness. Even for this life there can be no foundation on which to build enduring eminence and fame but Christian morality. The most brilliant career, indeed, which is not sustained by the everlasting principles of righteousness and a benevolent life, is but dizzy and rudderless aeronauting. For a few months or perhaps years, a godless imposter may balloon himself over the heads of the people; but nature's laws are persistent as well as irresistible; the steady-working omnipotence of gravitation cannot be overcome by gas or parachute, and the height of his ascent will only measure the demolition of his fall.

What an enormity it is that our colleges, which annually send forth hundreds of young men to the rostrum, the forum, and the pulpit, should ever be guilty of overt acts of treason against the highest welfare of the community by fitting depraved men for positions of emolument and power. Under ordinary circumstances, a college may feel obliged to *receive* those who present the usual credentials. But no college is obliged to *retain* them. If applicants are welcomed, residents may be sifted. Undergraduates must be filtered—the groveling, the vile, the depraved must be rooted out from the useful, the honorable, the exemplary, and the latter only commended to the confidence and honors of society. They must be winnowed with so rough a wind that all ergot and smut will be blown away. We can bear, perhaps, a little of the chaff of weakness but none of the poison of corruption. In the ancient polity of the Jews, if a father had a son who was a glutton or a drunkard, he was directed to take him before the priest, and if the offence was proved against him, all the people were commanded to stone him to death, in order, says the sacred narrative, that “all Israel shall hear and fear.”

Where do immoral students go when they graduate, and what do they become? If not entirely consumed by their vices and so cast upon the dunghill as having lost head as well as heart, they usually seek the professions, aiming at wealth in them, or for political distinction through them. And what will a corrupt-minded physician do? Through the hope of health and the terrors of disease, he is admitted, as it were by compulsion, to domestic intimacies and familiarities from which even the dearest and most trusted of friends are excluded. What barriers, then, but those of the most sacred honor and fidelity shall prevent him from being another serpent blasting another Eden?

So if religious sentinels stationed upon the watchtowers of Zion, sleep when they should watch, and cry "Peace, Peace," when the Philistines of every vice beleaguer God's citadel, then sudden ruin must overwhelm the heritage they were appointed to protect.

In college, the future lawyer learns the lore of many tongues, and he is trained and practised in wielding the massive armor of eloquence. What social devastation then can he commit; or rather, what can he not commit, if he turns the whole phalanx of his qualifications against the cause of truth; and finding the eyes of the goddess of justice to be blind, smites off her arms also? Whenever the bar array legal rule against moral right, they organize iniquity. The professional defenders of guilt are worse than the original perpetrators they defend. Every lawyer who knowingly rescues a criminal from condign punishment becomes, both by legal and moral definition, an accessory after the fact. One who habitually sells his services to all guilty applicants is an accessory before the fact, and the sign fastened upon his door is a public advertisement of himself as a suborner of crime.

How few offences would be committed, even in the present corrupt state of society, but for these two tempters!—first, the hope of escaping detection, and second, a reliance upon the professional chicanery of some Old Bailey lawyer—of which the latter is by far the more persuasive seducer to crime. The bar could do more than all legislators, courts, and executive officers together to prevent the perpetration of crime—by simply refusing to defend it. If ever the scales of custom and habit fall from the eyes of the community, they will see that the unscrupulous and ever-ready defender of malefactors is himself the greatest malefactor in society. His evil spirit is omnipresent, promising to screen the offender; and when the old forms of indictment charged the culprit with “being moved and instigated by the wiles of the devil,” the literal meaning of that phraseology was, that he was thinking of some lawyer who would save his neck. The evil spirit of such a lawyer is present whenever confederates league together, shaping their plans to commit the offence yet escape the conviction. He muffles the step of the burglar on his midnight errand of plunder; he whets the knife of the assassin; he puts a lighted torch into the hands of the incendiary.

Some of the most awful and heaven-defying vices that destroy the peace of society and turn all the sweets of life into bitterness, are only college vices full-grown—the public manhood of the academic childhood of guilt. The expert gamblers at State or National capitals are recruited from the ranks of those who played cards at college and studied Hoyle more than they did their lessons. The student of licentious reading and conversation grows into the fashionable roué or chronic debauchee, as naturally as adders grow out of eggs; and if to physical sensualism he adds a sort of metaphysical turpitude, he becomes a political profligate, or a whole or

half-way advocate of the doctrines of free-love—that superfetation of diabolism on polygamy. There is no such deadly enemy of mankind as a wicked, profligate genius equipped with learning; for he fascinates many of the noblest faculties of youth, and thus leads them to rebel against the moral element in their nature, the noblest faculty of all. He embellishes with all the adornments of wit and imagination and elegance the paths that lead to the chambers of death. The Jack Sheppards in romances make the Jack Sheppards on the highway, and the Don Juans in poetry, the Don Juans in society, as certainly as hyenas beget hyenas or vultures, vultures. I well remember a set of college students who emulated Lord Byron's fiery and misanthropic genius, and imitated their idol so far as to wear his shirt-collars and practice his amours. Now why should such incarnate vice be robed in the fascinations and armed with the glittering weapons of knowledge? Do we want our youth to grow up into such characters as William Congreve or Richard Steele?

A few years ago there were three ambassadors of these United States, resident at European ports, *at the same time*, who were all notorious public drunkards—two of whom had hardly a lucid interval while they professed to *represent their country* abroad. Think you they did not drink alcoholic beverages in college? Think you when they studied electricity and magnetism, they did not mistake demijohns for Leyden jars, and use brandy bottles for a voltaic pile? They were the men to sit round a table and take shocks. And thus the offences of the student's private room became at length the opprobrium of the nation.

That wisest and most valiant band of reformers this country has ever known—the glorious advocates of temperance—how have their divine labors for the redemption of mankind from

the direst of all mortal curses, been baffled and brought to nothing by antitemperance and non-temperate legislators and courts! It is a notorious fact, respecting those judges who have been foremost in declaring all prohibitory liquor laws to be unconstitutional, that their public functions smell of their private habits. They uphold and stimulate the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks by the double encouragement of protection as judges and potation as men. They pronounce laws to be repugnant to the constitution of the State, while in fact, it is only their own self-abused constitution that is repugnant to the law. In nine cases out of ten, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the college life of these men foreshadowed the unutterable calamities which their judicial decisions have inflicted upon the world. The standard of college morals ought to be such, and it easily may be such, that no undergraduate would dare to drink alcoholic beverages or to have them in his room, any more than he would venture to erect a lightning-rod on the top of his head and take a walk in a thunder-storm.

I know very well what is said, and said on high authority too, about judges being the expounders of law and not the makers of it; that their function, in all cases, is to declare what the law is, and not what it should be.\* But we all know that a judge's brain is something more than so many pounds avoirdupois of concrete law. We all know that, in a very large class of cases, the character of the man is always visible in the decision of the judge. On any point of natural equity and

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\* "The judicial department has no will in any case. Judicial power, as contradistinguished from the power of the laws, has no existence. Courts are the mere instruments of law and can will nothing. . . . Judicial power is never exercised for the purpose of giving effect to the will of the judge, but always for the purpose of giving effect to the will of the Legislature; or, in other words, to the will of the law."—Chief Justice Marshall: *Osborne vs. Bank of the United States*, 9 Wheaton's Rep., 366.

justice, the law is not the same thing when coming from Lord Hale and from Lord Jeffreys. On the subject of human liberty, the law is not the same when coming from the Supreme Court of the United States and when from Wisconsin or Vermont.

Everybody knows that new classes of cases are constantly arising, where there are no precedents to be followed, but one is to be made; and where, therefore, the court will deduce their principles from sobriety or from inebriety, and will seek their analogies in liberty or in despotism, in Christianity or in paganism, according to their own natural and acquired affinities. In all such cases, the judge exercises almost the entire functions of legislator and judge combined. The decider will be sure to impress his own moral lineaments upon his decision. If he be a wise and a good man, virtue through all her realms will rejoice at his living oracles; but if he be an ungodly man, the sun will not take your daguerreotype more exactly than his expositions of law will picture the vileness of his moral image. No matter what the law of the land may be, if you have judicial monsters upon the bench, you will have judicial monstrosities in their adjudications.

Now what I affirm is, that college faculties ought never to graduate students who by overt acts during their collegiate career, forebode disaster and disgrace to the world. By so doing, they sink snags in the stream of human progress, against which many a precious bark freighted with immortal riches will strike and go down. The bestowment of the higher forms of knowledge upon worthy objects is binding as a sacrament, but the priest who knowingly celebrates the nuptials between learning and wickedness is guilty of sacrilege.

When a college sends some great Dagon of intellect into the community, who by force of erudition and talent reaches

the high places of judicature or statesmanship, and there perfidiously prostitutes his logic and eloquence to dethrone national justice and enthrone national iniquity, who debauches the public morals by suborning religion to become the defender of national crimes, and who sets the most contagious and fatal of all examples before the young—that of a union between talent and intemperance or licentiousness—that college inflicts a wound upon the very vitals of the State, for which the graduation of a thousand men of commonplace virtues can never atone.

In Dr. Paley's sermon "to the young clergy of the diocese of Carlisle," he admonishes them with especial unction and emphasis to beware of the common vices of *drunkenness* and *dissoluteness*. "A clergyman," he says, "cannot, without infinite confusion, produce himself in the pulpit before those who have been witness to his intemperance," because "the folly and extravagance, the rage and ribaldry, the boasts and quarrels, the idiotism and brutality of that condition, will rise up in their imaginations in full colors."

"In my judgment," he says, "the crying sin of this country is licentiousness in the intercourse of the sexes." . . . "What, then, shall we say," he adds, "when they who ought to cure the malady, propagate the contagion? When you [young clergymen] suffer yourselves to be engaged in an unchaste connection, you not only corrupt an individual by your solicitation, but debauch a whole neighborhood by the profligacy of your example." Remember, this was addressed to the young clergy. Since that time, however, [1781] though their diabolical intolerance remains, yet a great reform has taken place in the moral habits of the English Church. I maintain that it is in the power of the colleges of this country, to a very great extent, to purge the professions and the public councils

of this nation from those nefarious vices of drinking, gambling, profanity and licentiousness, which are so full of evil example to the less educated masses and so full of evil portents for the perpetuity of our Republic.

I know I am about to present an opinion which conflicts with the historic and the contemporaneous practice of this country. But believing it be founded in eternal truth, I have no option to withhold it. All our earlier colleges, and most of their successors have followed their example, aimed to indoctrinate their students into special denominational tenets, instead of establishing the great principles of practical morality and securing obedience to them. They ignored the everlasting truth that a man's creed grows out of his life a thousand times more than his life out of his creed. It was one of the profoundest of philosophical remarks, "If any man will do His [God's] will, *he shall know of the doctrine.*" A man's creed may be long or short, but is not the autograph of a virtuous life a signature which will pass current in all worlds?

It is said that there are in this country at this time, fifty organized, different, Christian sects. If each one of these had the power, it would, today, extinguish all conflicting dogmas of all rival sects, stamp its own faith upon all mankind, and secure its universal dominion to the end of time by perpetual entailment. Each one is now doing its utmost by influence, talent, money, missions, to supplant all others by itself. There are great differences among them in regard to toleration, great differences in regard to the means supposed to be legitimate for effecting the purposes of proselytism and self-perpetuation; but I doubt whether a single sect exists which would not, today, could the question be determined by a major vote, assume the awful, the tremendous responsibility of petrifying into its own likeness the religious faith of the

world, for the residue of time, shorter or longer. But if truth be ONE and not MANY, then all but *one* of these faiths—possibly all of them—are wholly or partially wrong. Forty-nine out of the fifty must be more or less wrong—possibly the fiftieth also. All but one, then, and perhaps all, are desperately struggling to impose upon the world, as truth, what is not true. This is mathematically demonstrable.

Meanwhile truth exists as certainly as God exists. There it lies, outside or partially outside of all, or of all save one. While each denomination is shouting, "Ho! all ye, we alone have truth," there outside or partly outside of them all, lies the glorious and divine, yet trampled and bleeding body of truth, forsaken and condemned by those who have gone after false gods. Now if this truth, which certainly exists, is ever to be recognized and welcomed, and its priceless blessings enjoyed by the world, the common course of God's providence leads us to suppose that it will be discovered and enthroned through human instrumentality; for the Christian world is not now looking for any new, miraculous revelation. Yet all the organized instrumentalities that exist are now struggling, agonizing to perpetuate, each one its old error, none to install with divine honors that new truth which alone can make men free.\*

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\* Jeremy Taylor says, "To know which is the true Church is so hard to be found out, that the greatest questions of Christendom are judged before you can get to your judge, and then there is no need of him. . . . That there is but one way of finding truth is agreed upon, and therefore almost every Church of one denomination that lives under government propounds to you a system or collective body of articles, and tells you that is the true religion, and they are the Church and the peculiar people of God. . . . These are the Church, and out of this Church they will hardly allow salvation. But of this there can be no end; for divide the Church into twenty parts, and in what part soever your lot falls, you and your party are damned by the other nineteen; and men on all hands almost keep their own proselytes by affrighting them with the fearful sermons of damnation; but, in the meantime, there is no security for them that are not able to judge for themselves, and no peace for them that are."

Now, how are mortals to discover truth? I answer, that to seek for it in the right spirit is the only guaranty of a successful search. And the most important elements in this spirit are, a supreme love of truth and the power of impartial thought. To be capable of impartiality of thought opens all the avenues to truth. Incapability of it closes them all. Yet all the Christian sects, and almost all colleges and private schools, at this day are training the children and youth under their care to be incapable of impartial thought. They are divesting them of their intellectual impartiality, not only as between different denominations compared with each other, but also as between different denominations on one side and truth on the other. This they do by stamping the peculiarities of their own faith as early and as deeply as possible upon the unformed mind, as though that faith were infallibly true, and by stigmatizing all conflicting ones as certainly false.

And could all the Christian sects so far succeed as to repel all proselyting incursions into their own territory, and to transmit their own creed down through their own sectarian lineage, for a thousand or for ten thousand years to come, then, even after all that lapse and waste of time, would not Christendom still present the same Ishmaelitish and shameful spectacle of warring sects it does today? Each one would still be waiting for that millenium when its own dogmas would over-ride the world, while, practically, all would be uniting to barricade the only avenue by which the true millenium can ever enter. In the meantime, outside this most unchristian realm of strife, the glorious majesty of truth would linger and mourn, like a fond father waiting for the return of his Prodigal Son, and longing to bestow upon him a boundless heritage of blessings.

This commitment of the ingenuous nature of a child to a blind partisanship; this forcible seizure of the young mind, taking it out of the class of honest inquirers and training it to a dogmatic presumptuousness of assertion respecting deep mysteries, which, from its yet feeble powers and narrow vision, it is impossible for it to understand; this veiling of its eyes against the light of truth, and then teaching it to affirm what it cannot see—this, indeed, is a profanation of all the holiest instincts of the soul; this is sacrilege!

In our present state of knowledge, whether secular or divine, there are numerous questions respecting the nature and attributes and providence of God which cannot be answered with a peremptory affirmative or negative, and it is treason to the sacred majesty of truth itself to teach a child to affirm or deny, as though he understood, what as yet it is impossible for him to understand. When children who have been educated in this way become adults, they always defend with passion what they cannot defend with argument; their logical resources are not reason and conscience, but the fagot and the torture; or as near to these as the laws of their country will allow.

The undeveloped nature of childhood is always trusting. Like the callow brood, it opens its mind, whether the mother brings poison or nourishment. All unintelligible doctrines are equally acceptable to it. It welcomes with the same readiness the dogma of the Immaculate Conception or the Ptolemaic system of astronomy; Transubstantiation or Hindoo cosmogony. If a tough kernel of religious error be dropped into the receptive nature of a child, all the tendrils and filaments of thought and sentiment and affection twine around it, clasp it, infold it, imbed it; and there, in the centre of being, it hardens until it becomes insoluble by truth; pharm-

acy has no lotion that can dissolve and wash it away, and if the psychological dissector attempts to remove it, he must cut so deep into the vitals as to destroy the life of religion itself in the soul.

That elevation and comprehension of mind, that power of impartial thought which would train the rising generation to the love and quest of truth, instead of blindly defending what, without consideration, it has prejudged to be true, cannot be expected from Mohammedans or pagans; it ought, however, to be expected from Christians; but unhappily, in this respect, the sectarian and the heathen are on the same level.

All history informs us that it is only those who abjured more or less of their fathers' faith—such as Luther and Melancthon, Robinson and Wesley—who have ever added any new stores to the world's treasure-house of truth. Yet these are the very men on whose heads fell all the thunders of the Church. Would not their additions to truth have been discovered more easily and more early, would not vastly more new truths have been discovered, had not sectarians and bigots universally plucked the eyes of impartiality out of their children's heads as soon as they were born?

In this connection, how instructive is the history of physical science! How slow were its advances, and what blank centuries intervened between one discovery and another until dogmatic teaching was supplanted by the spirit of inquiry! Then, how thick and fast came the luminous revelations whose several splendors make the concentrated effulgence of the present day. But for that revolution, we should be teaching Aristotle's *Physics* today—that the planets move round the earth in circles, because the circle is the only perfect form of motion, and nature's abhorrence of a vacuum

—the very doctrine that made the human mind the vacuum it denied.

But shall nothing be taught as truth, lest we should teach error? This would be the opposite extreme. This would be the counterpart of the world's present false method, which is to teach those points most positively and most laboriously in regard to which there is the least agreement. Here, too, the improved methods of scientific investigation and inculcation are to be followed. What the great body of accredited scientific expounders agree in, we teach as truth. If there are two schools, we announce the prevalent doctrine, but never fail to qualify it by a full and fair statement of the dissenting authorities. So while we announce, as settled, all the great points in which the whole Christian world substantially agrees, and which I believe all acknowledge to be the most numerous and the most important, yet when we encounter controverted points, we ought frankly to state the great names and fairly to present the arguments adducible for each, conducting the case magnanimously towards absent antagonists, and as we would have them conduct the same exposition towards us; so that the new, unsophisticated, unpreoccupied mind of the learner may see all sides and may hence be able to hold the balances more steadily, than our minds, debased by early prejudice, were ever able to do. In this way, the mind is trained and fitted for using the instruments of logic and reason and conscience for the discovery of truth. By dogmas and creeds and catechisms, it is trained and fitted, not for the discovery of truth, but only to find arguments in defence of doctrines prejudicated to be true.

But it may be replied, the youthful heart is so prone to evil that if it be not filled with great and saving truths as early as possible, it will fill itself with great and ruinous errors.

But first, are they *truths* which are submitted to it, or are they only one set of doctrines out of fifty, forty-nine of which must be more or less false; and possibly all may be? And again, why will not the supposed innate depravity deny and profane what is submitted to it as absolute truth, as certainly and even more fatally than it would, if the same views were submitted to it, among others, as having claims to be true? If there be an inborn, connate impulse to profane and blaspheme all divine beauty and excellence, shall that spirit be kept as long as possible away from the object and the opportunity of its terrible indulgence; or shall it be turned at once into the Holy of Holies? If a child has vehement destructive propensities, until those propensities can be curbed or tamed, shall his toys be costly or cheap, of iron or of glass?

But the teacher cannot be impartial. He will have his views of truth, and unconsciously if not designedly, through the force of nature if not of will, he will give predominance to his own opinions. But if a man conscientiously believes he ought to act the part of a judge and not of a lawyer, why can he not obey this dictate of conscience as well as any other? The difficulty suggested would arise only when one should hypocritically assume to perform the noble functions of the judge in holding the balances while his hand still trembled with the interested passions of the advocate.

One more suggestion will close the argument on this topic. What is the course of the wisest of governments and of men in a case closely analogous? When an exciting cause is to be tried in a civil court, does not every judge examine the jurors upon oath, to learn whether they have expressed or formed an opinion on the merits of the case, and does he not set aside as unworthy to be upon the panel, those who have formed such opinion? Every man sees and feels the reason-

ableness of this course. Yet this is just the reverse of what is done in regard to controverted religious doctrines, in most of our private schools, Sabbath schools, colleges, and theological seminaries. Hence Truth, claiming by divine warrant to be heard, is silenced; error, worthy of annihilation, is perpetuated, and hostile sects, the scandal of the Christian religion, are increased in numbers and virulence.

Claiming, then, no innate superiority of the present over the past, but only believing that, from our more advantageous standpoint, we can see some things which our predecessors could not, we cannot refrain from expressing the opinion that our colleges commit one of the greatest possible educational errors when they attempt to transfer belief or disbelief ready made, to the minds of youth, on points, respecting which great bodies of wise and good men entertain different opinions. Ought not these institutions rather to expend their utmost resources in inspiring the youthful mind with a supreme love of truth as the divinest of all possessions earthly or heavenly, and in training them to the power of impartial thought, that greatest of all mortal achievements? Are not these the most certain instrumentalities by which, in the providence of God, new truths will be revealed and old errors purged away? Let colleges, then, bend their energies to secure, not uniformity of a supposed good creed, but universality of known good morals. Conscience has a higher function than intellect; the love of truth is better than the love of logic. When the true morality of Christianity prevails, the true doctrines of Christianity will not be far away. What Jeremy Taylor calls "a heap of miracles," performed every day, would not prevent the thoughts of men from conflicting, but the Spirit of Love is everywhere the same, and this may be inculcated upon all.

*Members of the Graduating Class:*

Neither this audience nor yourselves can fail to perceive that the remarks I have thus far made, though specially designed for another purpose, are yet more complimentary to you than the highest strain of direct encomium which I could have employed. They necessarily imply that you, at the very least, are free from all those vices and evil habits with which the praise and the dignities of knowledge should never be associated. Had you, during your College life, been justly obnoxious to the charge of intemperance, of blasphemy, profanity and impurity of conversation, of yielding to sensual allurements, or of any other of those infamies not unknown nor unfrequent in college life, but which are repugnant to the character of a Christian, a scholar and a gentleman, you should not stand here today; or, if you did, I would not. I rejoice like a father in the completion of your college course. Far more do I rejoice in the honorable manner in which it has been fulfilled.

So much for the past, and God has made eternal record of it.

For the future, my young friends, the noblest field that ever greeted the vision of aspiring and emulous youth rises and glows before you, and only a narrow Jordan separates you from that promised land. With such a career of honor and beneficence before you as was never revealed to any other generation among all the sons of men; with such inspiring motives from history as never before dilated the youthful breast, and such prophetic influences running through you and strengthening you, as a stream of galvanism strengthens a magnet, you are now summoned to enter upon your lifework of utility and benevolence. As aged eyes look

upon your youthful hopes, and see how all your possibilities are transmutable into actualities by the alchemy of a moral resolution, and how with the power already in your hands, you can win solid and everlasting glory, envy becomes a virtue.

My young friends, when the pagan soldiers of ancient Rome enlisted in the army of their country, they took an oath of fidelity to her cause. Forms change, but the indwelling spirit of duty and righteousness is everlastingly the same. At this hour, when you are just stepping from these peaceful academic halls into the tumultuous arena of life, our customs do not undertake to bind your consciences by any form of oath; yet here in the august presence of these dignitaries on my right and on my left, and of this multitude before me—in the presence also of Almighty God—before crossing this threshold, I adjure you by all the motives that can be drawn from mortal and from immortal spheres, to make now, a vow of self-consecration to a life work of duty and beneficence. Yes, ere yet the last sands of your college years have run; before it shall be said of them, “They are finished,” wind up your resolution to such a pitch of intensity that its spring will not uncoil until the fruitions and securities of eternity are substituted for the motives and efforts of time.

[NOTE: *The form in which the degrees were conferred at the first commencement is given in Appendix A, p497.*]

# Part VII

## BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS AT ANTIOCH

*Delivered by Horace Mann, June 29, 1859*

LIVE FOR OTHERS. *Great boons, such as can only be won by great labors, are to be secured; great evils are to be vanquished. Nothing today prevents this earth from being a paradise but error and sin. These errors, these sins, you must assail. The disabilities of poverty; the pains of disease; the enervations and folly of fashionable life; the brutishness of appetite, and the demonisms of passion; the crowded vices of cities, thicker than their inhabitants; the retinue of calamities that come through ignorance; the physical and moral havoc of war; the woes of intemperance; the wickedness of oppression, whether of the body or of the soul; the Godlessness and Christlessness of bigotry—these are the hosts against which a war of extermination is to be waged, and you are to be the warriors. Never shrink, never retreat, because of danger.—*  
HORACE MANN.

*Orient yourself! ORIENT YOURSELF! Seek frivolous and elusive pleasures, if you will; expend your immortal energies upon ignoble and fallacious joys; but know, their end is intellectual imbecility and the perishing of every good that can ennoble or emparadise the human heart. Obey, if you will, the law of the baser passions—appetite, pride, selfishness—but know, they will scourge you into realms where the air is hot with fiery-tongued scorpions, that will sting and torment your soul into unutterable agonies! But study and obey the sublime laws on which the frame of nature was constructed; study and obey the sublimer laws on which the soul of man was formed; and the fulness of the power and the wisdom and the blessedness with which God has filled and lighted up this resplendent universe, shall all be yours!—HORACE MANN in Thoughts for a Young Man, 6:78.*

## Baccalaureate Address of 1859

*Young Ladies and Gentlemen of the Graduating Class:*

After journeying together for so many years on our passage through life, we are about to part. Another day, ay, another hour, and we separate. Would to God I could continue this journey with you through all its future course! There is no suffering of a physical nature which I could survive, that I would not gladly bear, if thereby I could be set back to your starting-point—to the stage of life where you are now standing. When I think, after the experience of one life, what I could and would do in an amended edition of it; what I could and would do, more and better than I have done, for the cause of humanity, of temperance, and of peace; for breaking the rod of the oppressor; for the higher education of the world, and especially for the higher education of the best part of it—woman: when I think of these things, I feel the Phoenix-spirit glowing within me; I pant, I yearn, for another warfare in behalf of right, in hostility to wrong, where, without furlough and without going into winter-quarters, I would enlist for another fifty-years' campaign, and fight it out for the glory of God and the welfare of man. I would volunteer to join a "forlorn hope" to assault the very citadel of Satan, and carry it by storm, and bind the old heresiarch (he is the worst heresiarch who does wrong) for a thousand years; and if in that time he would not repent, of which I confess myself not without hope, then to give him his final quietus.

But alas! that cannot be; for, while the Phoenix-spirit burns

Heaven-derived and the self-derived—Heaven supplying us with the means: or, what is far more common, our happiness is the result of the interflow and commingling of both—Heaven's bounty and our effort or instrumentality; the first performing the incomparably larger share of the work, though the latter an indispensable share.

So there are two sources of human misery. One kind befalls us. It comes upon us as an aerolite might fall out of the skies upon a man's head; as the tortoise which the eagle carried aloft in its talons, and dropped upon the bald cranium of Æschylus, and cracked it; as hereditary diseases come upon children; or as all the curses of a bad government or a false religion descend upon innocent generations; or as Adam's fall, whether we understand it literally or allegorically plunged the human race into unmeasured depths of woe. A child is born blind, or deaf and dumb, or shallow-pated, or with faculties more askew than limbs and features can be: unspeakable misery results; but it comes in the course of Providence, and the victim must submit and endure, trusting to the remunerations of eternity.

*"For God hath marked each anguished day,  
And numbered every secret tear;  
And heaven's long age of bliss shall pay  
For all his children suffer here."*

The second source of misery is, like the second source of happiness, self-derived. It is the result of voluntary ignorance or crime; though in regard to misery, as in regard to happiness, vastly the larger portion results from an admixture of the two causes—the providential and the personal. Now, both for such results of happiness and misery as spring from our own character and conduct, we must take care of our own

character and conduct. By so doing, we can obtain a maximum of the one, and avoid all but a minimum of the other. For such results as are exclusively of divine origin, we must learn to obey God's laws; for a perfect knowledge and a perfect obedience of God's laws would introduce all possible happiness into the world, and eliminate all possible misery from it.

And for this purpose it is among our highest privileges to know that God operates by uniform rules. No matter if theologians and metaphysicians do divide God's providential dealings with men into the natural and the supernatural: each must fall under the domain of law. This is so, because it is impossible to conceive of a being, possessed of such glorious attributes as we ascribe to the Almighty, who should act otherwise than uniformly; because he must always act out of his own unchangeableness. Hence fixedness and certainty must pervade the supernatural not less than the natural domain. This fixedness and uniformity of operation are all that is meant by *law*. Hence a knowledge of his laws is attainable by man; and if a knowledge of, then also a conformity to them. To an intelligent apprehension, the Deity seems moving onward, from everlasting to everlasting, not with devious, zig-zag motions, but in one right line; not with mutability and fluctuation of purpose, but upon one vast plan so perfect in the beginning that it needs no revision, addition, or expurgation.

To those who regard either the natural or the supernatural as not regulated by law, the Deity must seem adroit only, and not wise; as rescuing his own system from ruin by expedients and makeshifts, such as a bungling craftsman resorts to to operate a bungling machine.

But why any evil or misery in the world at all? Why not

universal impassibility to pain? Why not man necessitated to be happy?—every nerve of his sensitive nature pervaded by delight, as every corpuscle of his body is by gravitation. Why not his soul a compound of spiritual joys as his body is of chemical ingredients? Nay, why not happiness, passive and spontaneous, congenital, antinatal, eternal, without effort or wish for good, or resistance of evil, on our part, and man made virtuous and saintly in this life and carried into immortality and transcendent bliss in another, as a dead-head, and all the saints only so many spiritual lazzaroni?

Had not God begun at zero in creating the race, where should he have begun? Should he not have bestowed language on children at birth so that they might have told their mothers the seat of their pains, and thus have taken only one medicine instead of all in the pharmacopoeia? Should not children have had enough knowledge of metals to abstain from eating arsenic for its sweetness? Should they not have possessed enough knowledge to keep out of fire and water, and to count a hundred, and thus have fallen outside of Blackstone's definition of a fool?

But suppose all men to be born at a certain advanced point of development, at a certain height in the scale above zero, would they not then be encompassed with a new circle of inconveniences and privations, quite as serious and annoying, and quite as earnestly demanding the *manus emendatrix*, the "amending hand," as Sir Isaac Newton called it? And so, at whatever degree along the ascending scale man might be launched into being, he would, at that point, feel an apparent necessity of having been started at a higher point, until nothing could satisfy his demands but to have been created with the infinite perfections of a God. Surely this is as strong as the mathematicians' *reductio ad absurdum*. The

only uncomplaining point to begin at is to begin so low that there is no ability to complain. Hence man is created at the point of blank ignorance, that he may have the felicity and the glory of ascending *the whole way*. Had he been set up any number of steps in the stairway of ascension, so much as he rose to higher elevations would have been lost from the perceptions of contrast and the emotions of sublimity. A mountain can never appear so grand to one born on its top as to one who was cradled in the vale but has climbed to its summit.

Here then, we see how evil comes upon our race. We are created with numerous appetences; all like so many eyes to desire, and like so many hands to seize, their related objects in the external world. The external world superabounds with objects fitted to gratify and inflame these internal appetences. And now these beings, fervid and aflame with these desires, are turned loose among these objects, without any knowledge of what kind, in what quantity, at what time, they are to be taken and enjoyed, but with free agency to take what, when, and as much as they please. Bring these four elements into juxtaposition—the thousand objects around, the inward desire for them, the free will to take them, and complete ignorance of consequences—and how is it possible to avoid mistakes, injuries, errors, crimes? With only one radius in which to go right, with the whole circumference of three hundred and sixty degrees in which to go wrong, and without innate knowledge of what is right and what wrong—for a being so circumstanced never to err is just as impossible as for an infinite number of dice to be thrown an infinite number of times, and always to come up sixes. Take any one man out of the thousand millions of men now on the earth, and his appetite for food and drink

is not adapted merely to one aliquot thousand-millionth part of all the viands and fruits and beverages upon the earth: it is adapted to all edibles and drinkables alike; and without knowledge, and something more than knowledge, he will seize them where he can find them.

Consider all the property of the world—gold, gems, palaces, realities, personalities—as aggregated in one mass. Our natural love of this property is not confined to one quotient, using all mankind as a divisor; but it is adapted to the whole dividend, and without knowledge, and something more than knowledge, will demand it. “Male and female created He them.” One man to one woman, one woman to one man, is the law. But each of one sex to all of the other is the adaptation; and without knowledge, and something more than knowledge, chemistry has no affinities, mathematics have no demonstrations, more certain than that polygamy, Mormonism, Freeloivism, with all their kindred abominations, will be the result. Among all the young sparrows ever hatched, shall “never one of them fall to the ground without your Father.” And, because one does fall, shall we say God’s system is imperfect? Does not the preacher say, “Shall those who remove stones not be hurt therewith, and they who cleave wood not be endangered thereby?” Who could foreknow that nettles would sting, until some person made a very sudden and perhaps improperly worded report of the fact? Shall all mankind use edge-tools, and no man’s fingers ever be cut? How is an ignorant colony to avoid a malarious district until the fever shall have scorched and the ague shall have shaken enough witnesses to swear that region in open court to be the putative father of quotidian, tertian, or quartan? Why shall the convenience of lead service-pipes be abandoned, until the poisoned water shall have been

caught, *flagrante delicto*, scattering colics and paralyses? After seeing the hardening effect of fire on clay, how can a man tell, without experience, that it will not produce the same effect on wax? That is, in physical matters, how shall an agent, free to do what he *will* and ignorant of what he *ought*, escape error and consequent damage? With an impelling force behind and no guiding light before, and with one only goal to be reached, how shall the engineer avoid fatal deviations right or left, or a no less fatal crash against obstacles in his path? How should the first builder of houses as a defence against cold and storm foresee disease through loss of ventilation?

In matters of pure intellect, how could the first generations understand all astronomy by looking into the heavens, or all geography and geology by seeing the surface of the earth? Why should they not accredit the evidence of their own senses in regard to the diameter of the sun and moon, and therefore believe that a man could carry one of them under one arm, and the other under the other arm to balance it? Why not explain eclipses of sun and moon by saying that a great dragon had swallowed them? Why not believe in all the chimeras and absurdities of astrology? Why not believe that the whole framework of the heavens rotates daily about the earth, as it seems to do? If a man cannot see around the curvature or rotundity of the globe, nor penetrate downward through its numerous strata, why not believe it to be flat and thin and to have four corners, and to have been made, with all its appendages, in six secular days? And if the muscles of man grow weary by labor, why not suppose that the Deity grew weary also, and ordained a sabbath for bodily rest? And when the passions flash their intense light of love or hate, of admiration or of disgust, upon the objects around us, can rea-

son be always achromatic, and blend the whole emotional prism of rays into that white light through which alone the divine complexion and features of truth can be truly seen?

Still less in divine affairs could it be expected that a newborn being, occupying but a point in space, should fathom the depths of immensity; or, occupying but a point in time, should comprehend the eternities before and after. And when this frail child of an hour hears the thunder's roar, and sees the heavens ablaze, and feels the earth shake, and the forests bend, and oceans toss, and he is unable to form a conception of a spiritual God, why should he not fall down and worship the first thing which his own ignorance makes mysterious?

Oh beautiful idolatry when it springs from a devout and reverent soul as yet unilluminated by knowledge! for when the true God shall be revealed to such souls, they will cover the earth with the beauty of holiness and fill the heavens with the fragrance of worship. Polytheism grew up because men had not minds large enough to conceive of one God capable of all these terrestrial and celestial marvels, and therefore they had to divide his attributes among thousands, even millions, of deities.

And, with all the numerous appetites and propensities innate in every man, how shall he maintain an equilibrium of exercise and of indulgence between them, and how a subordination of the lower to the higher until the errors and miseries of the wrong paths, rising up before him like fire, shall have turned him back again and again to seek the right one? How should a man know, until someone shall have tried the experiment, that fire will burn, or water drown, or that alcohol will intoxicate, and opium narcotize, or that the only difference between a filthy tobacco-user and a vile green

tobacco-worm is, that while the worm never comes up towards the man, the man constantly goes down towards the worm? How, before trial or experiment, could it be known that dyspepsia is a non-conductor of knowledge, and that next to the calamity of being *non compos* in the brain is that of being *non pos* in the stomach? How, before observation, could it be known that avarice, among the worldly passions, is the most destructive to every sentiment of honor and nobleness in the heart of man, and that bigotry beyond all other spiritual crimes destroys most thoroughly all mercy and godliness in the soul; that a man may be a thief, and yet, according to the proverb, have some vestige of honor; that he may be a robber, and not despoiled of all generosity; that he may be a libertine, and yet have some filial or social affections; that an epicure can be generous after dinner, and a conqueror have a circle of favorites? And again: we know that the heathen pagans and savages open their heaven to the good man, come whencesoever he will; but a miser would keep the Omnipotent at work through all eternity creating wealth for himself, and the bigot would harry him with prayers to invent new tortures for heretics, and both remain surly with disappointment.

This combination then, I say, of inward appetites reaching outward, of innumerable outward objects adapted to the inward appetites, with free will and with ignorance of consequences before trial, necessitates mistakes which are physical evil, necessitates errors which are intellectual evil, and necessitates these violations of God's law which are moral evil. This theory vindicates the providence of God in the creation and government of man for the existence of what we call evil, by showing that, with beings at once finite and free, it was inevitable.

But, if evil is inevitable, how is man accountable for it? If moral evil *must be*, is it not absurd to call men wicked? Nay, is it not monstrous forcibly to set a man down in a certain place, or to put him in a given state of mind, and then pronounce him sinful for being there?

This is our solution of that Sphinx riddle: *Though evil be inevitable, it is remediable also; it is removable, expugnable.* Nor does it at all follow, because evil necessarily now is, that it must necessarily always be; nor because it must continue for a given period, longer or shorter, that it must continue forever. Most of the evils of mortals are terminable because they are exterminable. A farmer can rotate his crops: he can root out brier and thorn, and cultivate wheat. Legislatures make laws to prevent the recurrence of evils, to bar them out, to abolish them. Satirists lash the evil-doer with their terrific thong, and force him to desist from shame when he will not from principle. Oppressed nations invoke God, and dethrone the oppressor. Pioneers hunt out wild beasts.

Nor is it with great evils only, such as threaten life or limb, wealth or good name, that men combat. They take cognizance of the smallest annoyances and remove or remedy them. They assuage hunger and thirst: in heat they seek the shade; in cold, the fire. Every man seeks to take a mote out of his eye, or to banish a fly from his nose; and if his soul were large enough, he could just as well remove or abolish the evils of war, intemperance, bigotry, oppression, as to drive a snake from his path.

This, then, is the conclusion of the matter: Men are not responsible for the evils they have not caused, and cannot cure; *but they are responsible for the evils they consciously cause, or have power to cure.* I am no more responsible for what Cotton Mather and his coadjutors did at the time of the

Salem witchcraft, or for what Pharaoh did at the time of the Israelitish exodus, or for what my very much respected but unfortunate great grandparents, Adam and Eve, did in the Garden of Eden at the time of the interview with a distinguished stranger in disguise—I am no more responsible for any of these things than I am for the law of mathematics, by which, if unequals be added to equals, the results will be unequal, or by which, if the dividend is not a multiple of the divisor, you must have a fraction in the quotient.

But our power to diminish evils, to extirpate evils, one after another, creates the *obligation* to diminish and to extirpate. This duty is oftentimes coincident with selfishness or self-love; that is, it is both our duty and our desire to gratify some natural appetite or propensity. But sometimes our duty conflicts with the appetites or propensities of the lower nature. In either case, the duty is no less sovereign. In either case, obedience is indispensable to our permanent wellbeing. In all cases, God commands the performance of duty at all hazards and all sacrifices. As, if matter is to exist, there must be extension and solidity; so, if rational happiness is to exist, there must be a knowledge of God's laws and an obedience to them. Whenever one perceives a law in nature or in Providence, it is as though the heavens opened, and a voice from the Most High came audibly down, calling us by name and saying, "*Do!*" or "*Forbear!*" Not the children of Israel only, but every man stands at the foot of Sinai, and must hear the commandments of the Lord; not ten only, but ten thousand; not Decalogue only, but Myriologue; and must obey them or die. For God's law is omnipotent as well as eternal, and we are co-eternal subjects of it. Nor is it to be supposed that he has one law of cause and effect for this world, and another law of cause and effect for the next world, but that there is

no law of cause and effect between the two worlds. Better and far nearer the truth would it be to say that this world is cause, and the next world effect. Shall the acts of a man—great virtues or great crimes—live forever upon earth in their good or evil consequences, but shall the actor, the man himself, perish? Shall a grain of wheat buried in the integuments of an Egyptian mummy two thousand years ago, if now exhumed and planted, germinate, and connect the reign of Sesostris with the nineteenth century, but shall the soul of him whose body was buried with that kernel of wheat pass into nonentity? Shall a diamond adorning the shroud of some ancient king of Persia be restored to the light in our day, and again flash and blaze in the sunbeams, but shall the soul of the king himself live no more forever? God's laws abide forever, and we abide forever under them; and hence it is our highest conceivable interest as well as duty to conform, to inosculate our lives, our characters, ourselves, to them. In many things, the average of human knowledge shows this to be true already: additional enlightenment will demonstrate its truth in all things. A man inherits houses or lands. If his estate needs rounding out at any point he adds to it and symmetrizes its boundaries; and if disproportioned in its kinds of production, he turns forest into tillage or tillage into forest. If his house offends taste or frustrates convenience, he modernizes it into beauty and fitness. So if a man, on waking up to conscious comparisons, finds himself abnormal, or distorted from the common type—afflicted, for instance, with *strabismus*, or non-coincidence of the optic axes—he applies to the surgeon, has the contracted muscle cut, and he no longer squints: so, if club-footed, or suffering under any other pedal malformation, he goes to an orthopedist, who, by the wonders of his art, reshapes the foot into

simulation to the common pattern. If we have an unsightly or distorted feature, does not the smallest modicum of common sense teach us to cure or at least to palliate it? If wounded or diseased in body, do we not seek to be healed or cured and submit to privation and pain to be made whole? See one of America's noblest and brightest sons, for an injury to the brain, which mad brutality in the council-halls of the nation had sacrilegiously inflicted on him—see him seeking restoration in foreign lands and going to the terrific *moxa*, the fire-cure, as to his daily meals; and why? Because he hoped, from these fire-thrills through all his nerves, for a rehabilitation of the brain, and then for that other and hallowed fire in the cause of freedom and humanity such as touched Isaiah's lips. And if all this is done and borne for intellectual recuperation, nay, for the body that perishes, what ought not the scholar—he who is indoctrinated into the knowledge of cause and effect, into the wondrous and saving knowledge of God's laws—that knowledge which fuses the two worlds into one and makes death only an event in life—what ought not he to do or dare for the exaltation and grandeur of the soul?

And this brings me to the second stage of my inquiry: How shall we obtain happiness, how avoid misery?

I answer, in the briefest and most comprehensive formula: By knowing and obeying the law of God; for in regard to all the higher forms of happiness, his plan seems to be to make men earn their own; he furnishing them with an outfit of capital and implements, or as a business-man would express it, stock and tools.

The babe recognizes God's laws. Before it has any conception of divine attributes or a Divine Being, before it can articulate the Holy Name, it recognizes one of the most central of

all laws—that by which, under like circumstances, like causes will produce like effects. One well-executed burning of its fingers in a taper's blaze is sufficient: it needs no second lesson in that liturgy forever. Let a morsel of delicious food stimulate the papillae of its tongue, and old age cannot obliterate its memory. So, but contrariwise, of the caustic or bitter. How soon the infant learns to call for water when it is thirsty or to turn to the fire when it is cold! The boy learns the law of his sports. Sir Isaac Newton did not understand the law of resistance better than the slinger. A *ninny* farmer knows that, though he should sow the sea with acorns, and harrow them in with the north wind, he could not raise a forest of oaks upon its surface. A man may own all the coal-fields of Pennsylvania, or all the wood of the Hartz Mountains; but, without oxygen, he will freeze in the midst of them all. If a man will turn his bars of railroad iron into natural magnets, his road must run north and south. It may lie east and west to all eternity without their polarization. To create a visual image, the light must come to a focus on the retina of the eye, and not on the tympanum of the ear. Shadows are not projected towards the illuminating body, nor does an echo precede the sound that awakes it.

Not less true is it that if a man will enjoy health, strength, and longevity, he must know and observe the hygienic conditions of diet, air, exercise, and cleanliness. A sound brain *cannot* be elaborated from a hypochondriac or valetudinarian body, nor systems of sound philosophy be constructed in an unsound brain. Good digestion is part and parcel of a good man; though it does not follow from this that pigs are Christians. Rum-blasted or tobacco-blasted nerves become non-conductors of volition; and a porous and spongy brain can no more generate mental fire than a feather can beget lightning.

Weak parents can no more be blessed with strong children than wrens can hatch eagles; and it is as impossible for a child to detach himself from the qualities of his ancestry, as impossible wholly to break the entail of hereditary qualities, as it would be in a court of law to prove, at the time of his birth, the *alibi* of himself or his mother. Ezekiel notwithstanding, personal qualities are descendible; and if the fathers will eat sour grapes, the children's teeth will be set on edge. It has been objected to Swedenborg, that he once introduced the Divine Being on an unworthy occasion. He says, that, when once dining in his chamber, the Adorable Majesty appeared before him, and said, "Swedenborg, do not eat so much." Was this an unworthy occasion?—*a dignus non vindice nodus*? I deny the justness of the criticism. It is one of the wisest revelations which that coffee-inspired prophet ever had. If a company of one hundred families would set themselves today profoundly and devotedly to the work of exemplifying God's physiological laws, they would in five generations of continued fidelity to them, govern the world.

These conditions of prosperity, of achieving good and avoiding evil, pervade the intellectual and moral world. A man must know his faculties; he must know the subordination of the lower to the higher, and his practice must accord with his knowledge.

There are two grand laws respecting mind-growth, more important than the laws of Kepler. The first is the law of symmetry. The faculties should be developed in proportion. Their circumference should be round, not polygonal; they should be balanced, not tilted. Every faculty is firmer set when it receives support from *all* the others. Every faculty acts with indefinitely more vigor when the other faculties sympathize and cooperate. A man who has one arm spliced

to the other, giving him the length of both in one, while the armless fingers are attached to the scapula; a man who is Daniel Lambert on one side, weighing seven hundred pounds, and Calvin Edson, weighing only forty pounds, on the other, is not more deformed than a man who is all intellect and no sentiment, or all sentiment and no intellect.

Heretofore the kingdom of knowledge may have been enlarged by a distortion of the faculties—by concentrating a sufficient energy upon one power and in one direction to achieve a discovery which could not have been achieved had that energy been equally distributed among all. But hereafter an entire realm of new discoveries will be opened and the errors of former discoverers rectified by that brighter illumination, when the rays of all the faculties shall converge to a focus upon the object of inquiry—as in that remarkable case which occurred in Boston as but yesterday, where the laws of music and of electricity were invoked to solve an acoustic problem in the heart's beatings which had baffled all the science of Europe.

It is this relative disproportion of the faculties which has given rise to so many of the errors and even the crimes of the race, individual and national. If a body of seventy-two city brokers were now appointed to publish a septuagint edition of the New Testament they would leave out the four Gospels, and insert in their stead the last best edition of the most approved interest tables. It is this accumulation of all excellence around one egotistic idea which makes an Englishman believe that Divine Providence always operates in subserviency to the British Constitution. It is this same exaggeration of a national sentiment which leads the French nation to look forward to a judgment day, when men will be separated to the right hand and to the left, not because they have

or have not given food or drink or clothes to the needy, not because they have visited or failed to visit the sick or the imprisoned, but according as they have been or have not been soldiers in the Grand Army. The descendant of the Puritan is disposed to believe in the doctrine of vicarious atonement, because this getting everything and giving nothing is such a sharp bargain—very much the same plan on which the Puritan ancestor treated the Indians. So the national foible or infirmity of our people—its overgrown vanity and pride—stands on a parallel with the haughtiness of the Spaniard, the vainglory of the Frenchman, and the egotism of the Englishman.

The first grand law of the faculties as a whole, then, is the law of symmetry. An obedience to this law will yield immense happiness and avoid immense misery.

The next law is as important as the first. It is that all our faculties grow in power and in skill by use, and that they dwarf in both by non-use. By growth, I mean that they pass out of one state into another, as a grain of corn grows or passes from the embryo germ to the plumule, from the plumule to the stalk, to the flowering tassel, to the bountiful ear.

What was Benjamin Franklin at birth? Would he have sold for anything in any Christian market? Could he have been forced upon a debtor as a legal tender, even for the smallest charge in the debt? Would any artist have purchased him for his studio, or any philosopher for his cabinet of natural history? No chemist could have turned him to any account in his retorts. He was destined for far other retorts than theirs. But he grew. From being a lump of flesh weighing so many pounds avoirdupois, he took on other qualities and attributes, each transcendent, culminating over the preceding. By and by he became Benjamin Franklin *plus* the

English alphabet, then Benjamin Franklin *plus* the multiplication-table. By industrious days and laborious nights, by observation and reflection, by noble abstinence from foul excesses, by divine energy of will in temperance, in diligence, in perseverance (better than the theologic perseverance of the saints, because it was his own), he gathered knowledge, accumulated stores of experience, grew wise on observation and lucubration, until soon he became that Benjamin Franklin whose name the lightning blazons from one part of the heavens unto the other, and to whom every summer cloud in all the zones and to the end of time shall thunder applause. See the offshoots of this growing man at this point of his development! Morse, House, Field, are his own brain-begotten children. The lightning is nimbly at work today in the shops of ten thousand artificers. It strikes alarm-bells, and warns sleeping cities that conflagration and a fiery death are at their doors. It measures longitudes as no geometer or astronomer could ever measure them; and before another twelve-month shall have passed, by a new application of that elemental force which ran along Franklin's kite-string, a cable shall unite the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, along whose electric threads shall fly to and fro such "winged words" as Homer never dreamed of. Then he grew into that Benjamin Franklin who signed the Declaration of American Independence; then into that Benjamin Franklin who signed the treaty of peace that acknowledged the independence and sovereignty of these United States; an act extorted from a sovereign, which made *him* more than sovereign—the *pater patriae* of a country peopled with sovereigns. Then he became Benjamin Franklin *plus* the Constitution of the United States.

What growth was here! what excelsior strivings and tri-

umphs from day to day! what ascension from glory to glory! not to cease even with death; for in all Christendom there is not now, nor ever hereafter will be, a child born of woman, who has not and will not have more of wellbeing and less of illbeing on earth because Benjamin Franklin lived; that is, because of his industry, fidelity, and temperance when he was a boy; because of his integrity, wisdom, and philanthropy when a man.

Now, each class and profession of men has a different standpoint from which it surveys the world, and to which, in its peculiar position, the world presents its immense variety of aspects. To a hack-driver, the living freight which a steamboat or railroad train pours into a city are worth twenty-five or fifty cents apiece. The barber feels ties of brotherhood, and the gates of his soul open with welcome, towards that part of the human race that shaves. The manufacturer of playing-cards thinks it terrible Puritanism to condemn what Burns calls the "Devil's pictured buiks"; and the printer of Bibles is a most zealous member of the Bible Society. When a shoemaker is requested to fit a tiny pair of shoes to an infant's feet, he sees a row of prospective and gradually enlarging shoes stretching out into futurity. So the tailor sees a lengthening vista of coats, and the hatter of hats, for all their customers. All these are seen as clearly as Æneas saw Marcellus far away in the coming generations.

So it is easy to take an ancestor who lived a thousand years ago, and see his lineal descendants diverging and radiating from him, children and grandchildren—each line or lineage reaching in solid rank and file down to the present time; one branch honorable, another proud, another base. These are realities.

But in view of this law of growth, and of the rapidity of

its increments, no less real to me is the spectacle presented by every young man, especially by every young man who receives the nutriment and invigoration of a college-life. Radiating from every such young man as from a central point, I seem to see long-extended lines of the forms of men—such forms as he may enter and occupy, and so become the men they represent. It is as though these lines shot out from him as from a center to a circumference; only there is no circumference, for the lines lengthen outward into endless perspective. Stand up, young man, and let us behold the forms of men, noble or ignoble, lofty or mean, saintly or satanic, which beleaguer you, and into which your soul enters as you pass on in your life, from glory to glory, or from shame to shame! Here, shooting out in one direction, I see an ascending series, an upward gradation of noble forms, figures of lofty stature and mien. Health and strength are in all their limbs; fire, ardor, aspiration, gleam from every eye; the light of virtue shines from every face; each life is pure. What a throne for majesty in every brow! Beneficence is in every hand. See how each individual in that long-extended rank excels the last, as it rises and towers, and is lost at last to our view, but lost only where earth meets heaven!

But what do I see on the other side? Another line, compact like the former, shooting outward from the same center, but stamped and branded with all those types of infamy that can be developed from the appetites—gluttony, intemperance, sensuality, debauchery, agony and ignominy unspeakable. O God! I rejoice that I can see no farther into the perdition beyond. These, *these*, young man, are the forms which you may grow into and become. Choose today whether you will pass through this succession to honor and bliss, or this to shame and despair.

This young man proposes to be a lawyer. Shooting outwards from him on either hand are compact files of those who disgrace or those who honor the noble profession of the law. This line begins with a pettifogger, a chicaner, a picaroon—one whose study and life it is to throw the cloak of truth over the body of a lie, like that lawyer of whom a malefactor said, "I have counted the chances, and concluded to commit the crime, for I know *he* can get me off;" and it ends in an Old-Bailey or Five-Points solicitor, sold to the service of Satan, content to take half his pay in money, and the rest in pleasure of wickedness—like the man who was a great lover of swine's flesh who said he wished he were a Jew that he might have the pleasure of eating pork and committing a sin at the same time. Another radiating file begins with examples of honor, equity, truth-loving, and ends in a chief justice such as Holt or Marshall or Shaw.

Another means to be a public man. His first transformation may be into a demagogue, half-sycophant, half-libeller, a pimp and pander of power, a speculator, an embezzler, a robber of mails or mints, a polyglot liar; or he may pass into those types whose systems of political economy have humanity for their end and wealth for their means only; who know no castes or classes or nobility excepting those who bear God's patent of intelligence and virtue.

This young man looks to the sacred desk. Next to him on one side stands the chameleon preacher, the color of whatever he touches. His soul is a religious *camera-obscura*, reflecting back only the souls of those who pay his salary. He cannot preach against the crimes of today—the crimes that flout heaven, the crimes that crush life out of the human heart. He can only preach against the "exceeding sinfulness of sin"—now and then hurling a terrific bolt at Heroboam or Judas.

*They* are personages not very likely to disturb the sacred quiet of *his* parish. But what a glorious column of the forms of men stands on the other side!—true disciples of Jesus Christ, constituted of piety, philanthropy, and wisdom—men who for truth's sake can bear revilings and a crown of thorns, can look without shrinking upon the cross, nay, can die upon the cross if need be. But, oh! when the sanctifying hour of death has passed, then the revilings become world-wide homages; the crown of thorns, a crown of amaranth, blossoming forever in the air of heaven; even the accursed cross is made sacred in the eyes of men.

Thus it ever is when men make sacrifices in the cause of duty. First comes the temptation; which if resisted, the transfiguration follows. The stern fulfilment of duty enrages the wicked and they execute crucifixion; and then comes the ever-glorious ascension; and even the memory of the Joseph of Arimathea who cared for the dead body of the martyr is gratefully and forever embalmed in the hearts of men.

Crowding thick around you, my young friends who go forth from here today, I see these various classes and characters of men whom I have attempted to portray. Select which you please. Transmigrate through the forms of one class into ever-increasing nobleness and dignity, ascending to all temporal honor and renown to end in the glories of immortality; or plunge through the other, from degradation to degradation to a perdition that is bottomless.

I need not carry out the parallel with regard to the young ladies who are before me and who are candidates for graduation today. For them, if they will have the courage to lift themselves out of the frivolities of a fashionable and a selfish life, each one in her own sphere and in her own way may become another Isabella, securing an outfit for another Co-

lumbus for the discovery of another hemisphere wherewith to bless mankind—more honorable to the queenly helper than to the bold navigator. . . .

The last words I have to say to you, my young friends, are these:

You are in the kingdom of a Divine Majesty who governs his realms according to law. By his laws, it is no more certain that fire will consume, or that water will drown, than that sin will damn. Nor is it more sure that flame will mount, or the magnetic needle point to the pole, than it is that a righteous man will ascend along a path of honor to glory and beatitude. These laws of God pervade all things and they operate with omnipotent force. Our free agency consists merely in the choice we make to put ourselves under the action of one or another of these laws. Then the law seizes us and sweeps us upward or downward with resistless power. If you stand on the great tableland of North America, you can launch your boat on the head waters of the Columbia, or the Mackenzie, or the St. Lawrence, or the Mississippi; but the boat, once launched, will be borne *towards* the selected one of the four points of the compass, and *from* all the others. If you place your bark in the Gulf Stream, it will bear you northward and not southward; or though that stream is as large as three thousand Mississippis, yet you can steer your bark across it and pass into the region of the variable or the trade winds beyond, to be borne by them.

If you seek suicide from a precipice, you have only to lose your balance over its edge, and gravitation takes care of the rest. So you have only to set your head right by knowledge, and your heart right by obedience, and forces stronger than streams or winds or gravitation will bear you up to celestial blessedness, Elijah-like, by means as visible and pal-

pable as though they were horses of fire and chariots of fire.

Take heed to this, therefore, that the law of God is the supreme law. The judge may condemn an innocent man; but posterity will condemn the judge. The United States are mighty; but they are not almighty. How sad and how true what Kossuth said, that there had never yet been a Christian government on earth! Before there can be a Christian government, there must be Christian men and women. Be you these men and women! An unjust government is only a great bully; and though it should wield the navy in one fist and the army in the other, though it should array every gun in the armories of Springfield and Harper's Ferry into one battery, and make you their target, the righteous soul is as secure from them as is the sun at its zenith height.

While to a certain extent, you are to live for yourselves in this life, to a greater extent you are to live for others. Great boons, such as can only be won by great labors, are to be secured; great evils are to be vanquished. Nothing today prevents this earth from being a paradise but error and sin. These errors, these sins, you must assail. The disabilities of poverty; the pains of disease; the enervations and folly of fashionable life; the brutishness of appetite and the demonisms of passion; the crowded vices of cities, thicker than their inhabitants; the retinue of calamities that come through ignorance; the physical and moral havoc of war; the woes of intemperance; the wickedness of oppression, whether of the body or of the soul; the Godlessness and Christlessness of bigotry—these are the hosts against which a war of extermination is to be waged, and you are to be the warriors. Never shrink, never retreat, because of danger: go into the strife with your epaulettes on.

At the terrible battle of Trafalgar, when Lord Nelson, on

board the "Victory," the old flagship of Keppel and of Jervis, bore down upon the combined fleets of France and of Spain, he appeared upon the quarter-deck with his breast all blazing with gems and gold, the insignia of the "stars" and "orders" he had received. His officers, each a hero, besought him not thus to present himself a shining mark for the sharpshooters of the enemy, but to conceal or doff the tokens of his rank. "No," replied Nelson, "in honor I won them and in honor I'll wear them!" He dashed at the French line and grappled with the "Redoubtable" in the embrace of death. But when the battle had raged for an hour, a musketball shot from the mizzentop of the enemy, struck his left epaulette, and, crashing down through muscle and bone and artery, lodged in his spine. He knew the blow to be fatal; but as he lay writhing in mortal agony, as the smoke of battle at intervals cleared away, and the news was brought to him that one after another of the enemy's ships—the "Redoubtable," the "Bucentaur," the "Santa Anna," the "Neptune," the "Fougueux"—had struck their colors, his death-pangs were quelled, joy illumined his face, and for four hours the energy of his will sustained his vitality; and he did not yield to death until the fleets had yielded to him.

So, in the infinitely nobler battle in which you are engaged against error and wrong, if ever repulsed or stricken down, may you always be solaced and cheered by the exulting cry of triumph over some abuse in church or state, some vice or folly in society, some false opinion or cruelty or guilt which you have overcome! And I beseech you to treasure up in your hearts these my parting words: *Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity.*

Then said a teacher, Speak to us of Teaching: And he said: No man can reveal to you aught but that which already lies half asleep in the dawning of your knowledge. The teacher who walks in the shadow of the temple, among his followers, gives not of his wisdom but rather of his faith and his lovingness. If he is indeed wise he does not bid you enter the house of his wisdom, but rather leads you to the threshold of your own mind. The astronomer may speak to you of his understanding of space, but he cannot give you his understanding. The musician may sing to you of the rhythm which is in all space, but he cannot give you the ear which arrests the rhythm nor the voice that echoes it. And he who is versed in the science of numbers can tell of the regions of weight and measure, but he cannot conduct you thither. For the vision of one man lends not its wings to another man. And even as each one of you stands alone in God's knowledge, so must each one of you be alone in his knowledge of God and in his understanding of the earth.—KAHLIL GIBRAN in *The Prophet*.

## Part VIII

### TWO ANTIOCH SERMONS

*Delivered by Horace Mann*

*"THE FACULTY of Antioch College retained the privilege of preaching in their own hands, and either officiated alternately, or agreed upon inviting other clergymen, or perchance laymen, from abroad, to take their places." The following sermons are the first two in a volume of TWELVE SERMONS DELIVERED AT ANTIOCH COLLEGE BY HORACE MANN and published after his death. "The meditations found in the manuscripts, though not read, undoubtedly formed the basis of the prayers accompanying the sermons."*

## SUBJECTS OF THE ANTIOCH SERMONS

- [1] God's Being, the Foundation of Human Duty  
"God lives and rules by law."
- [2] God's Character, the Law of Human Duty  
"God is Love."
- [3] God's Law, the Principles of Spiritual Liberty  
"Before you can *obey*, you must *know*."
- [4] Sin, the Transgression of the Law  
"He that doeth righteousness is righteous."
- [5] Testimony Against Evil, a Duty  
"Traitors to duty cannot be true to friendship."
- [6] The Prodigal Son  
"He came to himself. He repented. He recovered."
- [7] The Prodigal Son  
"All wrongdoing ends in misery."
- [8] Temptation  
"'Lead us not into temptation' is the wisest prayer ever made."
- [9] Retribution  
"Time is a seed field; in youth we sow it with causes; in after life we reap the harvest of effects."
- [10] The Kingdom of Heaven  
"Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God."
- [11] Immortality  
"One of the grandest and most precious doctrines of the Christian religion."
- [12] Miracles  
"Christ's law of life, 'love one another'."

## God's Being, the Foundation of Human Duty

In the new and almost parental relation in which I stand to the young men and young women, I propose to deliver a series of discourses on various subjects pertaining to Human Duty, and particularly designed to show that the realization of Happiness can alone come from the performance of Duty.

These discourses will not be theological, though they will have something to say respecting the existence, character, and attributes of God, and much to say respecting his laws and government on earth. They will not be strictly scientific; though they will welcome and solicit the aid of all those departments of systematized knowledge which we dignify with the name of science—all our natural and moral sciences being but expressions of God's will as manifested in nature and man. Least of all will they be devoted to mere questions of political economy, or profit and loss, in a mercantile or worldly sense; though even here, they will avail themselves of every opportunity to demonstrate that, as "godliness is great gain," so there can be no great gain, or gain of any kind, in despite or in defiance of godliness.

Not being an ordained minister of the Gospel, I may conform to the almost universal custom of such persons, in not speaking from a text; and yet I may be allowed to cite the text which an ordained minister would preach upon.

In regard to Duty, I believe not only in the Ten Commandments, but in ten thousand. God lives and rules by law; and, therefore, wherever He lives, and wherever He rules, there is law and a law of God is a command. All the kingdoms of nature around us—the inorganic which exists, and the organic which lives, and the sentient which feels—are pervaded by God's laws. We also in all our powers, faculties, and susceptibilities, are the subjects of God's laws. Our limbs and our body, our stomach and our brain, not less than our heart, each is the subject of God's laws. That is, there is a right way and there are wrong ways for them all; and God commands the right way. There is, therefore, not only a Decalogue but a Mirialogue.

Of course, among all these commands there must be the first ten. But having learned these, we ought to go on and learn the rest as fast as we can; and as we learn, we ought to obey; otherwise the learning is but the unprofitable hoard of the miser.

But if I discourse on Duty, I must have a foundation for my discourse. I must have proof of the solidity and validity of that foundation. No man should affirm anything, or deny anything, without proof, that is, without reason. With all rational minds, it is in vain for me to build the most magnificent superstructure of argument, and leave the four corners hanging in the air.

I find the foundation of Duty in the being and attributes of God. There are secondary and incidental arguments, but this is the primary and original one. There are collateral arguments, but this is fundamental. Even on the atheistic hypothesis of no God, it could be shown that Duty is expedient; but on the theistic hypothesis of a God, it can be demonstrated that the knowledge and the performance

of Duty are the highest moral necessities for every human being.

It may be a very easy matter to adduce such evidence of the existence of God as shall be acceptable and satisfactory to one who believes it already. Such a one is only to be moved down the inclined plane of argument, and goes easily. But I wish to adduce such evidence as shall be imperative and constraining to those minds which do not derive their evidence from their belief, but their belief from their evidence. Such minds are to be moved up the inclined plane of argument, and so both friction and weight are to be overcome.

First, then, I would reverently attempt to prove the existence of a God, by the same kind of evidence as proves the existence of the external and material world. Do you believe in the existence of rivers and forests, of mountains and oceans, of sun, moon, and a firmament of stars? Do you believe in the existence of men, and of the various zoological races, whether they walk or fly, or creep or swim? Do you believe in the existence of anything outside of yourself, or in anything that is not yourself?

People who do not believe in the existence of anything outside of themselves, or in the existence of anything which is not themselves, are commonly considered the subjects of medical treatment, before they become the subjects of syllogistic or argumentative treatment. And this medical treatment, in well-ordered states, is administered inside a lunatic or insane asylum. When, therefore, we see a man outside of any asylum for the insane, we are entitled to presume that he does believe in the existence of a material world. As to those who are inside of the insane hospital, let them first go through with a course of medicine, and afterwards, if necessary, with a course of logic.

But on what evidence do we believe in the existence of a material universe outside of ourselves? I answer on the evidence of the senses and of reason.

On the evidence of the senses. There is an ancient proverb that "seeing is believing." By our eyes we see that things exist around us. And we see the greatest difference between these things in color, shape, size, etc. If all of them, taken together, are not something, then they are nothing; and it seems to me that Nothing would look more alike—that is if it could *look* at all. The external world gives out its myriad varieties of sounds to our ear, of odors to our smell, of tastes to our palate, and of tactual sensations. The mountain top does not appear like the mountain cave; the shriek of a drowning man does not sound like an infant's laugh; water new-born from a pure fountain does not taste nor smell like the drunkard's foul beverage; and the thorn-tree does not feel like the pigeon's plummy breast. If *Nothing* could be seen or heard, or smelt, or tasted, or felt, would it not be more alike? When Nothing can blast the eyeballs in the lightning's flash, or solace the diseased vision in the verdure of spring; when Nothing can stun in the whirlwind's roar, or whisper a welcome to its sweets as it comes o'erladen from spicy groves; when Nothing can congeal us with arctic colds, or dissolve us with tropic heats; when Nothing can tear us in pieces by the tiger's fangs, or bind up our wounds with Aesculapian skill; when Nothing can consume our bodies and scatter the ashes to the winds, or with Egyptian unguents can preserve these same bodies for thousands of years—when Nothing can do all these things, and ten times ten million more like them, and repeat them forever, then it will be time to alter its name and call it Something. Now that is the Something which is not you, but is outside of you, whose existence I am

demonstrating. But if you say that the thing which you call Nothing has the power to put on all this myriad of forms and to do all this myriad of things, then you mean by Nothing what I mean by Something, and we will not dispute about words.

Now I think it can be shown that there is as high a kind of evidence to our spirits of what we call the Spiritual World, as there is to our bodily senses of what we call the Material World.

I think it can be as convincingly proved that Arkwright and Fulton had mechanical talent; that Lord Chatham and Dr. Franklin had statesmanship; that Shakespeare and Milton had poetic genius; and that Howard and Oberlin had philanthropy; as that they had bodies, lived in houses, breathed air, and ate food. My mind or spirit has proof of the existence of mind or spirit in others—proof of affection, talent, genius, virtue, devotion, just as my bodily senses have of the existence of what we call the material universe, seas, plains, fish, beast, bird, man, stars, galaxies. The spirit has powers of perception for spiritual qualities outside of itself, just as the body has organs for the perception of material properties outside of itself. What is this which we call love or hate, which we call philanthropy or misanthropy, which we call fidelity or perfidy, which we call saintliness or sin, devotion or impiety—are all these the attributes and qualities of Nothing also? The Levite and the Samaritan, Napoleon and Washington, Judas and Jesus, were they all the same too; or rather, were they all Nothing? I say, as I said before, that I think we should find Nothing less variously diversified; or if you say that Nothing does put on this multiplicity and diversity of forms, then you affirm that it is no longer Nothing but Something. Rational beings, then, who believe in

the existence of what we call Matter, cannot escape from a belief in what we call Mind.

But perhaps an objector will say that a proof of the existence of mind does not prove the existence of a Supreme Mind, of a creative, intelligent, sovereign, first cause. But here too it seems to me that the evidence is overwhelming. It is the same in nature or in kind as the evidence before referred to—the evidence of the existence of matter and of the existence of mind—the same in kind, though infinitely greater in amount and in demonstrativeness.

Whether unaided human reason would ever have conceived or originated the idea of a God has been questioned, and is perhaps questionable. But this I deem to be a fact not questionable; that there is a sentiment in man, something instinctive, though infinitely higher and wider in its functions than mere animal instinct, which does suggest, intimate, nay, which would originate the conception of a Supreme Being. And if any pestilence of atheism could suppress or abolish all expression and belief of the existence of a God in a whole generation, the next generation would originate the same idea for itself. Extinguish it in the parent and it would blaze up anew in his children. Just as perfect arms and perfect feet will come to children, though born through a father whose own limbs have all been amputated, so an inborn sentiment and apprehension of a God will come to a child whose father has striven to smother and stifle that sentiment in himself. All nations and tribes which have ever been discovered, and into whose condition any adequate scrutiny has been made, have been found to possess the idea of a Supreme Being. The polished Athenians erect a temple to the Unknown God. The Persians worship the sun. The degraded African has his fetish. And thus, I say, we have

inward faculties of veneration and wonder, which of their own mere action suggest the existence, evolve the idea of a great Spiritual Being above us, just as we have outward senses that excite the idea of material objects around us. To anyone who could perfectly comprehend our structure, a knowledge of the eye, even before birth, would communicate the fact of the existence of light; a knowledge of the structure of the ear would show that it was made for sound; and an inspection of lungs and blood would prove the existence of the air. Just so the religious sentiments of veneration and wonder, which are natural to us and born in us, suggest or originate the conception of a God. Now we may call this Being by any one of a thousand names—with the Hebrews *Eloi*; with the Greeks, *Theos*; with the Romans, *Deus*; with the French, *Dieu*; with the Germans, *Gott*; or with the English, *God*; or we may call Him the Unknown or the Unnamed God; or we may call Him by the sublime appellation "I am." That is another matter. We are now speaking of the sentiment in the human mind and not of its name in a human language.

After these strong religious sentiments of veneration and wonder have excited the idea of a God, just as thirst or hunger excites the idea of water or food, then the reason or understanding takes up that idea and gives it shape and qualities. And here two things are certain: that in forming its idea of God, the mind can attribute to Him no quality or attribute of which it has itself no conception, and that it will attribute to God such qualities and attributes as most abound in itself. You may hear a thousand men expatiate upon the character of God and no two of them will apportion His perfections alike. The austere man always attributes to Him more of a stern justice; the benevolent man more mercy; the lover

of grandeur and sublimity regales himself and exults in God's wonder-working Omnipotence; while the self-esteeming man thinks God loves him and his friends better than the whole world besides. How can it be otherwise? How can man build up the idea of God in his own mind out of conceptions or thoughts which he never had in that mind? If he has no science, no idea of the laws of nature and of mind, how can he conceive of a God who works eternally by law; or if he be supremely selfish, how can he conceive of a God of love?

After our religious instincts, then, have given us the conception of a God, or after we have been taught by our parents or otherwise to form this conception in conformity with our religious instincts, then our own appetites and passions, hopes and fears, reason or unreason, humility or pride, go to work to think out a God for themselves, or to find one in the Bible, or in the Koran, or in the events of Providence; and they put into their conception or picture of God more or less of this quality or that, just as they have more or less of this quality or that in their own minds. The contrary would be to say that a man could in his theology attribute ideas and qualities to God of which he himself had no conception; that a painter can put colors into a picture when he neither has any such colors on his palette or any idea of them in his mind.

Here, then, we arrive at two great conclusions: first, that the natural powers of man do suggest the idea or conception of God, so that we find the most savage and barbarous nations in possession of the belief; and second, that human passions and reason modify this belief. All men, then, are alike in having the conception of a Deity; but they are amazingly unlike in the Deity they conceive of. I suppose there are no two men in the world, nor ever were, whose concep-

tions of the Deity were precisely alike. One man is a cannibal, another is a Christian; one man has vast knowledge of the works of God, another has ignorance vaster still; one man has fervid religious sentiments, another is cold and phlegmatic. Now if such different men should agree to repeat the same stereotyped phrases respecting the Deity, and should repeat them ten thousand times, the ideas and emotions attached to them and excited by them in their minds would be as different as the men. The iron or the chalk, the ivory or the fungus, will show in the fabric that is made from them. Are there any two persons in all the British realms who have precisely the same idea of Queen Victoria? nay, could they all see her, what different views they would carry away!

Not only so, but each man's own ideas of God undergo the greatest changes—nay, revolutions. John's idea is not only different from Peter's, but John's idea, when a man, is vastly different from John's idea when a child. How different is the geologist's idea of a God when he sees in the great strata of the earth an illuminated volume, all pictorial with proofs of power, wisdom, and goodness; how different, I say, is his idea of God from that of a president of a certain Southern college who professes to believe that the bones of the mastodon, shells, sharks' teeth, trilobites, and other fossil remains of preadamitic ages, were scattered about by God at the time of the Creation, only as a puzzle for the human race and to see how much nonsense men would believe for His glory! How different the idea of God which an astronomer has, who comprehends the sublime laws of the solar and the stellar system, and who can fortell every eclipse that will happen for ten thousand years to come, and when the comets will return from their unutterable distances—

how different is his idea of God from that of the barbarian, who believes the heavens to be only a few miles above our heads and that the stars are nothing but spangles made for show. Indeed, all sects and theologies are founded on the differences of idea which men entertain of a God.

And there is another consideration far grander and far more important than this. Variant, conflicting, irreconcilable as are men's ideas when compared with one another, respecting the character and attributes of God, yet the very extremes of them do not differ from each other one ten-thousandth part so much as they must all differ from the truth—from a true, adequate and absolutely correct conception of what God is. Can your finite mind comprehend and embrace the infinite God? If not, then what is that almost infinite part of Him which lies outside of your comprehension? So impossible is it for finite natures to understand the whole of God's infinite nature, that we may say with reverence that even He, the Infinite Himself, cannot make us wholly understand it. How can His infinite knowledge of Himself be transferred to our finite faculties? As well might his infinite power be incorporated in our mortal arm, or His all-seeing wisdom be matched by our dim faculties, or for Him to make us infinite like Himself. He can hold the ocean in the hollow of His hand; but with us, in our present state of development at least, to do this is a natural impossibility. Now that part of God's nature which we do not understand, may be vastly different from the part of which we think we have some just conception—not contradictory to it, but different phases of it, as the colors of the rainbow differ from one another. God loves variety; and He may have constituted the other worlds different from ours. How different the forms of life He has created upon earth! How

different the fish from the bird, and both from the quadruped, and all from man! The aerolites that fall upon the earth have elementary combinations differing from any found on the earth. The moon is supposed by philosophers to be without an atmosphere. If so, no breathing thing can live there, and lungs would be a supernumerary organ. But does it follow that the moon is a great waste or desert, in which there is no life, no happiness; but everywhere silent, melancholy desolation? It may have inhabitants differently constituted from us physically; and why not differently constituted from us morally?—that is, inhabitants to whom God makes known some other glorious part of His infinite nature? The stars that fill the firmament are of such different colors that if they could be thrown together in a mass, as we throw glass beads into a cup, they would be as variegated with colors of red, blue, yellow, etc., as a cup full of parti-colored beads. What right have we to say that the inhabitants of these starry realms are not as differently constituted from each other as are the shining robes of light that adorn them? What right have we to say that God has not revealed to them other attributes of His infinite nature, and manifested Himself to them in other forms, which shall appeal to their natures as His goodness, power, and wisdom appeal to ours?

The light of our sun pours out on all sides. A beam of that light strikes the earth, another beam strikes the planet Venus, another Mars, and so on; but what a vast proportion of that light passes through the inter-planetary spaces and seems to go off into immensity and be lost! But if we really believe in an immensity, and believe that immensity to be full of God's worlds, then not a particle of light is lost. Some of that which passes through the inter-planetary spaces strikes the stars, and is seen by them, and that which passes through

the inter-stellar spaces strikes the constellations and systems beyond, until somewhere in the vast concave around us every particle of light that radiates from our sun shall, in the immensity of God's universe, help illuminate a world, and none of it go off into uninhabited space to be lost. Why may it not be so—nay, have we not reason to believe it is so—in regard to the infinity of God's spiritual attributes, as well as to His natural light, and that in different worlds there are different beings, and that He apportions some part of His infinite perfections to each, so that it requires the knowledge of all of them to know something of all of Him, and that it will be a part of the work of the endless ages of eternity to read the lesson in this volume of God, which, for want of a better name, I must call an Infinity of Infinities.

We, therefore, on this narrow earth of ours, can no more tell what new powers and wonders, what other exquisite senses, and what other enrapturing objects of sense, what other glorious faculties, and what other magnificent theaters for the exercise of those faculties, God may have created in other parts of His boundless universe, than the aborigines who once inhabited this beautiful neighborhood could tell from its climate, its vegetable growths, and its animals, what other climate, what other vegetation and animal life would be found in the torrid or arctic zones, or among their antipodes. And it would have been an incomparably less folly in them to pretend to know all about the richness and variety of God's works throughout the four quarters of our globe, from what they saw in this vicinity of ten miles square, than for us to pretend to know through what perfections God manifests Himself in stars and constellations outside of Sirius and Orion and the Pleiades, because we know something of His providence in this sublunary world.

Did I not say then truly that, much as theologians or sectarists may differ from each other in their belief of the attributes of God—the Trinitarian from the Unitarian, the Partialist from the Universalist, the Necessitarian from the believer in Free Agency, the Catholic from the Protestant—their distance from each other is almost infinitely less than the distance of all of them from the truth. Oh, would to Heaven that those who condemn and doom their fellowmen because of certain metaphysical differences of belief respecting God's character and attributes, would for one moment reflect what would be their own fate if God should condemn and doom them because of the difference between their best conceptions of Him, and His consciousness of Himself. How would they stand appalled and overwhelmed if the rude picture of God in their minds were exhibited by the side of the Divine Original, and they were held punishable because the mortal limner had not correctly imitated the Immortal Prototype!

Now this view of our subject leads to several conclusions.

First, it shows us that the learned man and the illiterate man, the scientific man and the ignorant man, not only do not, but they cannot, while remaining as they are, have the same conception of God any more than they can have the same idea of *Paradise Lost* or the *Iliad*; any more than they can have the same idea of the *Principia* of Newton or the *Mecanique Celeste* of La Place. The philosopher cannot expunge from his mind his knowledge of the works of God and receive back into it the crude conceptions, or caricatures, which infested it when he was a child. Nor is this difference confined to intellectual conceptions of the Creator. The same is true of all our moral perceptions of the character of God. How can a man who during his previous life has been accus-

tomed to the brutality and abomination of cannibalism, or to the gross and foul rites of fetishism, ever have those immaculate conceptions of God's nature which the prophet Habakkuk felt when he described him to be of "purer eyes than to look on iniquity"? How can a child or young man who has wallowed along for twenty years through the filth and loathsomeness of Wapping or St. Giles; or who has swam for twenty years, as a fish swims in water, amid the squalor and beastliness of the wynds of Edinburgh or the Five Points of New York, cleanse his mind from the fetor it has contracted, and come out fresh and fragrant as a June morning, full of the perfume of flowers and the songs of birds? Though his general conceptions of God's character may be changed, though a new set of resolves and desires may supplant the old ones, yet, as the pot will smell of the ointment it has held, so will the odors of sanctity and even the incense of praise that come from him, be adulterated by the foul emanations of his previous life. This is the way that Christianity became corrupted with the doctrines of paganism. The pagans who became Christians did not leave all their paganism behind. And this we all know to be the case when men of low life and manners, of vulgar and beastly associations, become Christians now. As the crooked spine sticks to the hunchback, so the old moral tang inheres in all the savor of their lives.

But secondly, if men in this state of existence with their unequal faculties, unequal attainments, and unequal opportunities, are not alike and never can be alike in their intellectual or metaphysical conceptions of the Deity, how can they be alike in worshipping the same living and true God? I answer that with the greatest diversity of thought, they can be alike in their affections. Love must be the same in all

worlds. The love that trembles and flickers in the bosom of the lowliest worshipper upon earth is precisely the same in nature and substance with that which blazes forth from the loftiest and most adoring seraph, and makes the wide heavens resound with its celestial anthems. There are some things which must be the same wherever they exist. They are incapable of alteration; for if altered their very nature is abolished and lost. Arithmetic and mathematics must be the same in all worlds. Nowhere can two and two be more than four, or less than four. Everywhere the three angles of a plane triangle are equal to two right angles. So love must be the same in saint or seraph; just as hate is the same in murderer or fiend. The altar may be mean or magnificent; the censer where we burn our incense may be large or small, of gold or of clay, but the flame of devotion that ascends from it is the same in all. Alike it aspires to heaven. We can be alike in spirit, however great or small we may be in thought; "for, thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place; with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit"; but nowhere is it said that God dwelleth with the great intellect, or with the intellect that can form the grandest conceptions of Him.

Here, then, is a point of conformity, of uniformity, of identity even, among men in other respects antagonistic and antipodal. No two men can picture out God in thoughts that shall exactly match each other as a cubic foot of space is like another cubic foot of space, or as a right angle is like another right angle; but all can love the God whom they conceive. They may and must have somewhat different ideas of His perfections; but alike they can adore the perfections they know. They have various hypotheses about His modes of

government; but alike they can have the resolve of obedience to His laws. They may have different beliefs in articles respecting His purposes and plans, but all can have that trust in His wisdom, and that confidence in His justice and goodness, which will enable them to say, "Not my will, O Father, but Thine be done."

The only unity, then, which there can be among the worshippers of God is a unity of spirit. Even the world of the blessed, while the archangel has a less inadequate conception of the Supreme, while he can comprehend a larger segment of the great circle of all perfection than you or I, his idea of the Being whom he worships must be different from ours; but let us thank God that our humble tribute of devotion, though poured from the nutshell capacity of our hearts, will be as acceptable to Him as though its copious floods came from the hollow of the ocean or the concave of the sky. The bond of love engirdles the universe; it is the oneness of Creator and created; so that, as Christ said to His disciples, "ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you."

### Meditation

"Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name." We acknowledge Thy infinite perfections in the hope of elevating our own characters by a contemplation of Thine. We acknowledge Thy power which in the past eternity did create the earth and the heavens, and in the fullness of time did prepare this world to become a fitting place for the habitations of men. We acknowledge Thy omniscience which doth see through all the immensity of Thy works, and dost so order the events of Thy providence that all which follows is in grand and glorious harmony with all that pre-

ceded. We acknowledge Thy justice which will never do us wrong; and oh, most devoutly would we acknowledge Thy love, which sees all our inward wants and makes provision for them. Oh, Heavenly Father, may we enlarge our knowledge, may we expand our minds, may we stretch out our conceptions so as to form a less narrow, a less limited, a less imperfect conception of Thee, and when our faculties have exerted all their powers to comprehend Thy works and Thy glorious nature, may we say with Job, "Lo, these are parts of His ways, but how little a portion is heard of Him."

We thank Thee that when the world was sunk in iniquity and corruption, when tyrants governed nations and selfish passions governed men; when pride and vanity and appetite reigned through social life; when the strong oppressed the weak and the cunning overreached the simple; and the worship of Thee had degenerated into idolatry in some nations and into proud Phariseeism in others—that Thou didst send Thy Son Jesus Christ to be an example to the world of perfect purity and goodness, to show men what they must do to secure salvation from evil. May we study his character profoundly, and imitate the beauty of his life. Was he obedient to his parents? so may children now be! As he never defrauded his neighbors, may we practice honesty in all our dealings! As he never owned a bondsman, may we see how opposite to his life and example is the ownership of bondsmen! As he went about doing good, may we also go about, giving bread to the hungry, knowledge to the ignorant, and showing the way of salvation to those who sit in the region of the shadow of death; and may we, like him, though nailed to a cross of public odium and calumny, never feel one revengeful impulse towards our enemies, but be ready, as he was ready, to carry the

malefactors upon the cross in his arms to Paradise. And may we aspire to that sublime and godlike sentiment which prompted him, in the midst of his agonies, to say, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

Heavenly Father, may we ask of Thee aright; may we not ask Thee to give what Thou hast enabled us to obtain—and made it our duty to obtain—for ourselves. May we not ask Thee for harvests, while we will not sow; may we not ask Thee for learning, while we will not study; may we not ask Thee for wisdom, while we disdain to meditate upon Thy laws; may we not ask Thee for strength and health, while we are indulgent to our appetites; may we not ask Thee for happiness, while we refuse to love; may we not ask Thee for Heaven, while we neglect to learn and obey Thy laws here.

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## God's Character, the Law of Human Duty

I introduced my last discourse by telling you, my young friends, that I meant to address you from time to time on subjects pertaining to Human Duty. First, however, I desired to establish a foundation for human duty; else when I had reared the most comely and imposing superstructure in my power, its four corners should be left hanging in the air. I took the position that the foundation of human duty is to be found in the being and attributes of God: and that as we have a group of bodily senses—sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch—by which we recognize material objects; so we have a group of mental faculties which develop within us the conception of a God. And as no nation or tribe, however barbarous, was ever found who did not believe in the existence of the earth, and of sun, moon, and stars, so no nation or tribe was ever known to exist who did not believe in the existence of a God.

This led me to consider how, or in what manner, after having first obtained the idea of a God, different minds fashion that idea into such an infinite variety of forms and accumulate upon it, one after another, the attributes which they suppose it to possess. How almost infinitely different is the Hottentot's or the Esquimaux's God from the God of Dr. Chalmers or of Dr. Channing; and if the ideas of God entertained by Dr.

Chalmers and Dr. Channing were brought together and laid side by side, how different from each other would they also be!

How come men to have such conflicting ideas of the Supreme Being and of His attributes? It is because they build up their ideas of Him out of ideas previously existing in their own minds. And how else can they do it? How can a man form a conception of any being, or of anything, but out of ideas already possessed? Can the dramatist put sentiments into the mouths of his characters, or an orator put arguments into his speech, of which sentiments and of which arguments neither of them ever before had any possession or any conception even? As Solomon could not have built the temple of the Lord out of the cedars of Lebanon, and made doors of the olive-trees, and overlaid the floors with gold, if he had had no cedars, nor olive-trees, nor gold to do it with, so he could form no conception of that Lord but out of ideas already in his possession. Hence the universal truth that men's conceptions of God, and the attributes they ascribe to Him, are gathered and fashioned after their own ideas, sentiments, and character. Is it said that God made man in His own image? It is no less true that man makes God in his own image. Hence that ascending scale in the attributes of God as they are conceived by the lowest savage, by the enlightened heathen, or by the Christian philosopher. As you begin at one end of this scale, you find the gods of the African or Asiatic tribes, mean and contemptible idols, or malignant divinities not fit to have the control of apes or baboons. Rising from these, you have the gods of the sensual nations who have prepared a paradise of immortal beauty where the passions are to be forever fresh and forever gratified. And at the higher end of the scale you have one only living and true God—a Being of infinite power,

wisdom, love, and holiness. The gods of the Greeks were beautiful because the predominating idea of that people was the idea of beauty. The gods of the Romans were proud and bloody divinities because the Romans were a proud and bloody nation. It is impossible for the selfish man to have the same ideas of God as the benevolent man; impossible for the ignorant man to have the same ideas as the learned man; and as impossible for the grown-up man of educational culture to return to the crude and unworthy conceptions which he had of God when he was a child as it is for the oak to go back into the acorn or for the bird to return to its shell. Had every individual who has ever lived daguerreotyped his ideas of God, to be arranged in a gallery as pictures are arranged, there would be millions and millions more of such pictures than of all the human beings who have ever lived. And if God does not expect impossibilities, then He never expected, in this state of the world, uniform conceptions of His nature and attributes.

And furthermore, no mortal man ever had or can have an adequate idea of the one living and true God. It would be as easy to put your arms around immensity and clasp your hands on the opposite side, as to comprehend adequately with any faculties which we possess, the infinite attributes of the Omnipotent, Omniscient, All-Holy, and Everlasting God. After enumerating all parts of His nature which we do know, we must have algebraic signs to indicate those still greater parts of Him which we do not know. Nay, is it not impious for feeble and ignorant man, who cannot take larva or chrysalis and by dissection foretell the properties of the insect it shall produce, to speak with flippancy and arrogance, as we often hear, of the most secret counsels and the most remote purposes of the Eternal Jehovah?

Is it said we have a revelation in the Scriptures and therefore we may affirm what He is? I answer that there are many points which the Scriptures do settle and concerning which there is no dispute; but there are also many concerning which, in our present state of knowledge, the wisest and the most pious of men are at variance; and this should teach us diffidence and modesty, and not presumption or dogmatism.

After all, however, what a wonder of wonders it is that amidst the almost infinite diversities of conception in the human mind respecting the Deity, there is one point of absolute uniformity among all His true worshippers! In ideas they conflict, but in love they all harmonize. Love is the same in all worlds and in all natures. If a hundred stringed instruments, all in chord, are placed in a single apartment and any one of them be touched by a master's hand, the strings of all the others will vibrate in unison with it and will give out strains of accordant music. So all the hearts that love God are in sweet accord and when one of them is touched, it thrills hallelujahs through all the moral universe. The music of the planetary spheres is at least a beautiful imagination, but the music of the spheres of love is no fiction.

At this point let me pause for a moment to make a single reflection. If men necessarily build up their ideas or conceptions of God and of His attributes from their own previous ideas, from the resources of knowledge and of affection which they previously had in their own minds, then every step in education, the inculcation of every new idea, the acquisition of every new scientific principle, the development and training of each intellectual and moral faculty, furnish precious materials out of which a more adequate and glorious idea of God can be formed. As out of richer paints and purer marble, the artist can make a better picture or statue, so out of grander

and nobler thoughts and out of diviner affections, can we form sublimer and more *Godlike* conceptions of our Father in Heaven. Cannot the geologist, who looks backwards into the myriads of ages that were spent in bringing the world into a habitable condition for man; and the astronomer, who knows that the whole solar system is wheeling on around a center so remote and through an orbit so wonderfully vast that, during the six thousand years since the creation of Adam, it has moved through only about one degree, or made only one three hundred and sixtieth part of the first revolution; cannot these, I say, have an idea of the everlastingness and infinitude of God such as is impossible for the blind mole of a man who moves for a few feet to and fro in darkness, underground, along a groove, which some other blind mole of a man cut for him? Have not the mathematician and the natural philosopher an idea of the exactness and inevitableness of God's laws, such as a man who was cast on the waves of ignorance at his birth and has been floating hither and thither on those waves ever since his birth, can never have? Cannot the profound judge, accustomed all his life to discern between the right and the wrong, form a truer idea of Divine justice and of righteous laws and measures of retribution, than one whose hand never so much as tried to poise the balances of equity? Cannot the benevolent person—a Howard, an Oberlin, a Wilberforce, a Mrs. Fry, or a Miss Dix—rise to more vivid and glorious conceptions of God's goodness and love—to conceptions more impulsive to good, than a cannibal who feeds on human flesh or a kidnapper who feeds on human hearts—better than a man whose brain and muscular system are as non-electric, as great non-conductors of sympathy, as a statue carved out of chalk, while his heart is only a nodule in the middle of it? And cannot the mind that

has been trained to logical and coherent thought, that can lay its foundations on everlasting principles, that can build up systems of jurisprudence, of ethics, and of government, and radiate over the whole the celestial sentiments of philanthropy and reverence—cannot such a man delineate portraitures and flash out conceptions more true, more radiant, more honoring to God, than the moral idiot or the butterflies of fashionable life? I repeat, then, that every lesson of sound science or knowledge of whatever kind which the teacher gives or the student learns; every energy which the student rouses or the teacher directs, supplies materials and means in our minds for a nobler idea of the God we worship. Knowledge, then, enters largely and essentially into the true idea of a Christian, and the highest type of a Christian cannot exist without it.

Having now taken a view of God from the human side of the question, I shall endeavor to take a view of Him from the Divine side—from a contemplation of those attributes which the wisest and best men concur in ascribing to Him.

First, let us consider the eternity of this existence. Was there ever a time, a first period when God did not exist? If so, then, how came He into being? He could not create Himself for that would be to suppose Him in existence as a Maker before He was in existence as a Being made. If created by another, who was that other; and could he have made Him different from what He is? And how came that precedent Being into existence? If created, then again, by whom? and so backwards and backwards forever. No, our faculties can find no resting place, saving in the conclusion that God was not created but is Uncreate. And if our finite minds cannot fully embrace and comprehend the idea that God is self-existent and eternal, they are still driven back to this conclusion from every other attempt at solving the difficulties of the question.

The magnificent language of the Psalmist, that He is "*from everlasting to everlasting*," affords the only scope for our knowledge and the only solace for our ignorance.

Of God's attribute of power, how feeble and pale are our most high-wrought and vivid conceptions. How little we comprehend the significance of the tremendous words, Almighty, All-Powerful, Omnipresent—words that should strike the soul as successive thunderclaps would strike the ear. We catch a feeble glimmer of God's power from the lightning, which so sweeps all vitality out of the man whom it strikes that the process of putrefaction begins in a moment; in the tornado whose swiftness turns the fluid and voluble air into wide-reaching, iron-headed solidity so that it strikes cities and forests like a battering-ram; in the ocean storm that tosses proud navies upon its surface like bubbles; in the earthquake which shakes cities as though they were toys in its hand; in the volcano, the mere reflection of whose terrors seems to fill the sky with demon shapes of fire, and whose fathomless cauldron up-boils as a fountain of desolation. Yet these occasional manifestations no more represent God's resistless forces working through all the frame of nature than the leakage of a few drops of water, or a little jet of steam, or a feeble hiss of imprisoned air represents the driving, cleaving, or crushing force of the fiery and ponderous machines of human workmanship. Animal fear sees God's power with the senses—in noise, in tumult, in flame; but reason sees it in silence, in order, in its still, yet eternal activities. Reflect, for a moment, what this power is constantly doing in the inanimate, insentient world. Who, from the surface of the earth and of the sea, lifts up those particles of water that form the clouds, that descend in rain, that sustain all vegetable and animal life, that fill the channels of the rivers and brim the

ocean; who impels the winds in their variable or their periodic courses, and who sends the ceaseless currents of electricity around the globe?

But the thought is too vast and in attempting to grasp too much, we lose all. Let us divide the great theme and look at it in parts. Take the first warm day in spring; go out into the cultivated fields; walk through the solemn woods or by the streams. What millions of millions of roots are now waking from their wintry slumber; how in all their veins they tingle with new life as through all their myriad pores they suck in the water that lies by their side! How many seeds beneath your feet are alive; what gases are in fermentation within them to swell and burst and send out the new germ! The air is populous with insects that perform their mystic dances in the sunbeam. The migratory birds rise in such flocks as darken the air to go northwards on their heaven-appointed course, and the migratory fishes make a wave swell up in the sea as they journey southward to fulfil the great economy of life. Yesterday, the branch of every tree as it stood out against the sun was naked; today, His light is obscured by its myriad leaflets. Each one of all those insect swarms, of those flocks of birds, of those shoals of fish, has its bones and muscles, its lungs and brain; and an instinct that guides it to the destination burns in each one, as though it were a king or a queen and gloried in his royal blood. What varied, what amazing, what incalculable life! Who fashioneth these countless forms? From whose capacious urn are they filled with life and joy? Who metes out the span of all their days and upholds the order of their generations?

Take a day in summer; the winds are astir, the waters flow, the light descends. Can you count the spires of grass in all the fields or number the flowers in garden and copse and

dell? Every stalk of grain is higher and larger at night than in the morning, and with what motions, and selections, and adaptations, its growth has been accomplished. Take a single tree that has been cut down and count its pores, multiply these by all the trees of all the forests in all the earth, and multiply these again by all the particles of sap that have traveled up and down in them all. Who supplies these countless growths with the peculiar nourishment that each one needs? Who winnows light, air, and the gases, that the sour and the sweet, the nutritious and the medicative, may receive according to their affinities? Who superintends this vast laboratory and keeps it from lapsing into chaos?

Take a day in autumn when the infinite grains of corn are ripening; when orchard-trees, and forest-trees, and the vines that cling and festoon upon them, are preparing their innumerable fruits and seeds; and when the bulbs beneath the ground are finishing the work of their year and their life. Who is the Sculptor that moulds their forms? Who is the Limner that paints them with such exquisite tints? Who is the great Chemist that fills them with such delicious and infinitely varied savors and flavors for the nutrition, the health, and the gratification of man—some for the young and some for the old; some for the strong and some for the invalid?

Now somewhere on this globe of ours, and at all times, there is spring; somewhere there is summer; somewhere there is autumn; and all the varied processes of spring, summer, and autumn are going on together.

Look at the higher life of man. It is supposed there are nine hundred millions of human beings on this globe. Who opens and closes their ever-beating hearts? Who heaves and contracts their restless lungs? Who through artery and vein circulates their ever-flowing blood? Who kindles in the brain

the steady light of truth, or coruscates across its dome the auroral light of sentiment and love? Who spreads the table at which these multitudes are fed? Who spreads out the beautiful drapery of twilight before drawing the curtain of darkness around their bed; and who, when the morning sun comes rolling westward with its broad wave of light, wakens them to joy and activity again?

What I have now referred to is obvious and open to the naked eye. But take a microscope, and what infinite wonders are revealed—vast populations, not merely like drops of water but *in* drops of water, so minute that were they to assemble in World's Conventions, in the London of a drop of water, they would not alter its balance, any more than our World's Conventions, in our London, changes the equilibrium of the earth. Who gave them their gladsome life, their winged motions, their ecstatic loves?

But let us spring from this to the opposite extreme—from the microscopic to the telescopic—to the infinite worlds above us and around us, compared with which our earth is but a drop of water or a grain of sand. And all these worlds, too, are they not as full of elemental forces, as swift in their velocities, and as resistless in their strength, as is our own? Are they not also full of some form of glorious life? Who is it that burnishes the heavens every night with those glorious orbs, and upholds them, and keeps them from sinking back into chaos?

Go out at midnight; look up into that dread yet glorious concave and ask your soul whose arm it is that upholds those unpillared chambers of the sky; who fills that vast domain with organized, and sentient, and doubtless with rational and spiritual life; and then reflect that all the galaxies and constellations which you can behold with the unassisted eye

are only the frontispiece, not to the mighty volumes of God's works, but only to the index of the mighty volumes? Beyond Sirius, beyond Orion, beyond the Pleiades, the azure fields of immensity are all filled with worlds, system beyond system, and rank behind rank, whom God in His mercy has removed to those immense distances from us, lest our mortal vision should be blasted by their overwhelming effulgence. And as you cannot find one inch of our lower earth where God is not at work, so there is not one inch in all those boundless upper realms where God is not at work.

My children, against such a God as with feeble words and inadequate thoughts I have attempted to describe—against such a God, do you wish to lift, or do you dare to lift, your pigmy arm? His resistless laws that cleave a pathway wherever they are sent, and punish the transgressor wherever they are transgressed—these laws do you dare to break? If you would hesitate to violate a father's command when he stands over you with a rod; if you would shrink from resisting the authority of a sovereign who has judges, and officers, and armies, and navies in his control, then, oh, how can you ever dare, how can you ever wish to dare to confront the power and majesty of the Eternal One—of that One who can enwrap the heavens with His thunderclouds and make you the mark of all their volleyed lightnings; who can array His volcanoes in battalions and bury you beneath their molten lavas; who can sink you in the earth's central fires to lie without consuming in that seething cauldron, or imprison you in the eternal solitudes of polar ice; or—unspeakably more terrible than all this—can turn your own soul inward in retrospection upon its past life, to read its own history of voluntary wrong in its self-recorded Book of Judgment. Nor can you find refuge in non-existence. You may call upon the seas to

drown you but there is not water enough in all the seas. You may call upon the fires to consume, but the fires will say, "We cannot consume remorse." You may call upon arctic frosts to congeal the currents of life, but they will say, "We have no power over the currents of thought or the pulses of the immortal life." You may call upon the universe to annihilate you, but the universe will respond, "God alone can annihilate, and God will say, 'live forever'."

I do not address you, my young friends, as members of this or that religious denomination into which the world is so unhappily divided; I do not appeal to you merely as Christians, acquainted with the blessed life and character of Jesus Christ. You might be Mahometans, you might be pagans, you might be savages, and still I would say, do you dare encounter and confront the great Ruler of heaven and earth? Oh, that I could so thunder in your ears that the sound would never cease to vibrate in your hearts, that word which God has written in letters of flame over every avenue to temptation—which He has inscribed on the lintels and doorposts of the gateways of sin, which is blazoned on the hither side of every seducement to wrong: *Beware! If you tread there, or look there, or think there, you encounter omnipotence.*

God is omniscient. Must not He who made everything know how everything is made? Must not He who can regulate the beating of an animalcule's pulse, who can touch with exquisite life the nerves in the antennae of a microscopic insect—must not He know what is going on in your mind and in your heart? In your widest reaches of thought, how infinitely beyond you He thinks; in your furthest scope of knowledge, how infinitely beyond you He knows. On all sides, He is outside of you. Is there any deepest cavern or blackest midnight where you go to contrive alone, or to con-

spire with others, where He is not present? Think, then, of this, my young friends, that God not only knows of your most secret desires and purposes, but knows the mental and moral habits and forces out of which they come. What is there, then, that you would refrain from doing before the friend you love, or the master you fear, that you would dare to do before the God who knows it all?

Among God's other attributes is that of justice. The most just men upon earth, those in every nation who are worthy to be called its Aristides, may do wrong. Limited knowledge may vitiate the best of purposes, and finite beings may make mistakes that will condemn the innocent or save the guilty. But the Omniscient Being is safe from all errors; and therefore, of one thing we may be certain, that in His dealings with us and in His administration of the universe, He will never do wrong.

Of the fact of God's attribute of Justice, no truly religious man doubts; but in regard to the manner in which that attribute is exercised, the Christian world holds opposite opinions. One party maintains that every voluntary departure from God's laws, whether more or less heinous, deserves an eternity of punishment, and hence that such eternal retribution must be suffered by the offender himself, or that a third person must suffer vicariously for him. The other party maintains that when a sinner leaves off sinning, he does to a great extent leave off suffering. They explain God's laws in regard to moral evil by the analogy of His laws in regard to natural or intellectual evil; that, as when the drunkard leaves off drinking his liquid fire, he quenches the Tophet which he had kindled in his stomach, and stops the scorching flame from ascending into his throat; and, as when the man who has sought to gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles, finds

that they will not grow thereon, he plants another stalk, and gets his fruit; so, when the man who has lived without God in the world, turns to God in obedience and adoration, he leaves behind him with his atheism, the blankness and solitariness of his atheistic life. The one party paints the consequences of sin as so vast and terrible, that a third person must be called in to lift off the burden of those consequences; while the other party, though they paint the consequences of sin just as terrible, while the sin lasts, yet maintain that when the sin ceases, the consequences mainly cease. I say *mainly cease*, for all admit that the mortification and shame of the old sin, like the scar of some dishonorable wound, remain forever. Both, too, acknowledge the efficacious intervention of a third person; but the one maintains that the mediator bears off the penalties from themselves, while the other maintains that the mediator only helps the sinner to escape from the sin, and then the penalties stop, of course, as fiery thirst stops, when slaked with water. The latter say, that the order of the Divine government is, "the soul that sinneth, it shall die." "But if the wicked man will turn from all his sins that he hath committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die."

Now, on this contested point, I give no opinion. I here intimate no opinion. Let it be to you as though I had no opinion. Sufficient for our present purpose is it, that either view vindicates God's *glorious attribute* of justice; for how glorious it is—glorious in both views, glorious on both sides of it. How admirable for the innocent man always to be able to say, I know that my judge is just; I know that where I am innocent I never shall be condemned. And what a noble government is that, where the tempted man must say, I know

that if I sin, I cannot escape from suffering. Protected in innocence, sure of punishment for offenses, how can the rational man, in the exercise of his reason;—mark me, in the exercise of his reason,—how can the rational man ever dare to commit a sin?

I can now mention but one more of the Creator's attributes. "God is Love." How striking this expression of the Evangelist, not only once affirmed, but repeated. God is declared in the Scriptures, times almost without number, to be holy and just and true, but nowhere is it said that God is holiness, or is justice, or is truth. The adjective is used, indicative of a quality inhering in some being, but not the substantive noun, in which the qualities inhere. We can conceive of each one of all God's attributes, as being a vacuum to all the others; so that they can coexist without interference and act without obstruction. But of no attribute save this of love, is there such intense and vehement expression, to signify that this is the sublime, paramount, crowning fact of the Godhead; as though this were His whole nature, and all other qualities were absorbed and swallowed up in this perfection. God is Love.

And does not all that we know of God's works confirm this sacred declaration? What more beautiful than this wonderful world which He has spread out around us? What more perfect than the unerring laws, by which it is governed, and which the sciences have just begun to reveal to us? Not only how morally, but how mathematically true it is, that "all things work together for good to them that love God,"—that is, to them that learn His laws and obey them; for knowledge and obedience are the only true manifestations of our love to Him. How beneficent, that when we have gone astray, we can be restored!

I said before, how can any of you, finite and feeble as you are, dare to brave the terrors of the Omnipotent; how can any of you dare to violate the law of one who is All-knowing to know, and All-just to judge your offences? But here, the key-note changes; my expostulations turn from alarm to entreaty; from fear to gratitude; and if I could, I would say to you all, in tones of sweetness and affection, deep and tender as those which angels use, how can you ever do with your hands, or speak with your lips, or conceive in your hearts, anything that is blasphemous, or defiant, or dishonoring, or displeasing, to that Being of perfect Love?

### Meditation

Our Father, we adore Thee as that Being whose power extends over all worlds, whose wisdom and skill have been incorporated, and are now and evermore indwelling in all created things; whose love pours forth over the universe and through all the ages—that love, one drop of which fills the ocean of immensity and still leaves the infinite of Thy nature full. We render Thee thanksgiving that in the far off ages of past eternity, Thou didst make provision for the natural wants of man in the fertility and exuberance of the earth, in the riches of the forest and the mine, in the variety and abundance of tropical and temperate zones, in the fullness of rivers and seas. We thank Thee for the beauty Thou hast showered down on all terrestrial scenes, for the green and flowery earth, and for the azure sky; for the effulgence of the rising sun and the many-colored drapery of his setting hour; for rainbows and auroras, for the varied beauties of seasons, of island and continent; for all that can tend to excite the ardor of our devotion, by showing Thee to be so

excellent. We thank Thee for those glorious faculties of intellect with which Thou hast endowed man, and for those laws and principles, uniform and eternal, blended with each created thing, which are the objects of those faculties; some, capable of being known by a child, simple as the alphabet, easy as its mother's name, yet, rising in complications and profundities, to such a task, such as surpass an archangel's power. Oh, our Heavenly Father, we thank Thee that we have the prospect of studying these wonderful truths in the ages of eternity—an exhaustless source of knowledge of the grandeur and the glory of Thy nature. We thank Thee for the men of talent, of skill, and of genius, who have risen up, from time to time, and, by deep study and long vigils, have sought out these laws, and have thereby helped to save mankind from idolatry; have swept away ten thousand superstitions that tormented the race, and have supplanted the folly and vagary, the senseless dreams and caprices of ignorance with the eternal principles of knowledge, systematized in science, and made transmissible to all our descendants. But above all, for that moral part of our nature which dominates all the rest, and for the seers and prophets, men wise in holy things, who have illustrated it. If in the majesty and robustness of the intellectual powers, Thou hast shown the paternal character; in the sweetness, the tenderness, the delicacy and purity of our affectional nature, Thou hast shown the maternal character. If one class of these gifts is such as an Infinite Father would give us, the other is such as an Infinite Mother would give.

Heavenly Father, may we seek the love of truth—truth in outward act, in inward thought, ay, in the innermost thoughts of the heart, at all times, in the marketplace, and in the forum; in solitude, and at midnight; in business, in

pleasure, in study, and especially in investigating Thy nature and laws. May no preconceived opinions ever chain us, ever deter us from this search, though instilled into us by a father whom we revered, though we drank them in on a mother's breast, sweetened with a mother's caresses. If our right eye offend Thee, may we pluck it out; if our right hand lead us to do wrong, may we cut it off.

When assembled together for improvement in health and strength, in knowledge and virtue, may the earthly teachers teach youth to go to Thee who can teach them more than all earthly intelligences. If tempted to do wrong, may they remember the friends who have sent them away to be taught; may they see the paternal eye, feel the maternal hand, hear the maternal voice, saying, "My son, my daughter, if sinners entice thee, give not heed unto them." May they help one another, and feel it impious to ask Thy help while they do not regard each fellow being as a brother, or stand as stumbling-blocks in each other's way.

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## Part IX

### MEMORIALS AND CELEBRATIONS HONORING HORACE MANN

CLEAR AND MORE CLEAR, *out of the dimness of coming time, emerge, to the vision of faith, the myriad hosts of the generations that shall succeed us. These generations are to stand in our places, to be called by our names, and to accept the heritage of joy or of woe which we shall bequeath them. Shall they look back upon us with veneration for our wisdom and beneficent forecast, or with shame at our selfishness and degeneracy? Our ancestors were noble examples to us; shall we be ignoble examples to our posterity? They gave from their penury, and shall we withhold from our abundance? Let us not dishonor our lineage. Let us remember that generosity is not to be measured by the largeness of the sum which a man may give, but by the smallness of the sum which remains to him after his gift. Let us remember that the fortunes of our children and of their descendants hang upon our fidelity, just as our fortunes were suspended upon the fidelity of our fathers.*—HORACE MANN, 66:126-27.

## TRIBUTES TO HORACE MANN

We are all debtors of Horace Mann more than we can ever repay.—HENRY BARNARD.

In him the citizen, the prophet, the schoolmaster are united.—FÉLIX PÉCAUT.

In the annals of American educators, the name of Horace Mann leads all the rest. No one has equaled him in touching the heart of the common people of the state, and in awakening in their minds an enthusiasm in behalf of popular education.—HENRY SABIN.

It is the schools that will regenerate the world, and a day will come when it will be felt that Horace Mann is a truly great man and has been more useful to humanity than all the Caesars.—LABOULAYÉ.

Horace Mann: The greatest of the American prophets of education in and for democracy.—JOHN DEWEY.

The career of Horace Mann is really a tribute to freedom and democracy.—STEPHEN DUGGAN.

The spirit of Horace Mann is immortal—his pioneering, his devotion to truth, his moral fervor, his insistence upon the social purposes of education and its necessity in a democracy.—HOMER C. CORRY.

Horace Mann was truly one of the great emancipators of his time. He carried forward the "American Dream" of the Founders of the Republic, and wrote a thrilling chapter in the advance of effective democracy in this country.—E. H. LINDLEY.

Wherever teachers would teach or children would learn, there dwells the spirit of this friend of mankind, statesman, and educator, Horace Mann.—PAYSON SMITH.

## Memorials and Celebrations

WITH THE TENDEREST hopes for humanity in its lowliest guise, with fullest sympathy for the oppressed and ignorant, with unfailing faith in the wisdom, the justice, and the love of God, Horace Mann consecrated himself, mind, soul, and body, to his chosen work. It is in vain the nation builds a monument to such a man. The brass corrodes, the marble crumbles, the canvas fades. But he, who, like Horace Mann, builds his life into the lives of the people, shall be like the cedars upon Lebanon which abide forever, "stately and tempest-worn, to show how nature triumphs over time."—HENRY SABIN, 46:65.

THROUGHOUT the one hundred years since Horace Mann began his service in behalf of universal public education, the people have not been unmindful of his great contribution to the national life. Numerous memorials have been erected to him; schools have been named for him; the observance of his birthday each year on May 4 is becoming an annual event in many schools. The Horace Mann Centennial, sponsored during 1936-38 by the National Education Association, has been called the greatest educational celebration in the history of the United States. The tremendous response throughout the nation indicates the devotion of the people to their schools, their appreciation of Horace Mann as one of the greatest builders of the nation, their realization that democracy itself is at stake in the welfare of the schools. It is the purpose of this section to record the celebrations of national scope which have paid tribute to Horace Mann, including important addresses delivered at them.

## Unveiling of Horace Mann's Statue at Boston, 1865

In 1865, only six years after his death, Horace Mann was honored in his native state of Massachusetts by the erection of his statue on the State House Grounds in Boston. E. I. F. Williams points out [84:350] that this statue was "the first erected anywhere to one who had served the common schools." Horace Mann's statue and that of Daniel Webster stand side by side, Webster's to the right, Mann's to the left as one approaches the main entrance to the capitol.

The statue was modeled by the American sculptress, Emma Stebbins, from a pencil drawing by Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne who was Horace Mann's sister-in-law. The statue had been paid for by subscriptions of friends, teachers, and school children. When Charles Sumner sent his contribution, he wrote: "If each person in Massachusetts who had been benefited by the vast and generous labors of Horace Mann—each person who hates intemperance and who hates slavery—each person who loves education, and who loves humane efforts for the prisoner, the poor, and the insane—should contribute a mite only, then his statue would be of gold."

Several replicas of the Boston statue have been made: one stands in the headquarters building of the National Education Association at Washington, D. C.; another at Antioch College (pictured on page 85), Yellow Springs, Ohio.

The dedication of the Boston statue took place on July 4, 1865, Samuel G. Howe, lifetime friend of Horace Mann and pioneer in the education of the blind, presiding. Governor Andrew delivered the dedicatory address. The same year a 29-page souvenir booklet was published by Walker, Fuller, and Company describing the ceremonies and giving the

speeches. The booklet states [52:3-4] that "Soon after the news of Mr. Mann's death reached Massachusetts, a call was issued for a public meeting to take appropriate measures upon the sad event. A large number of persons assembled and deep feeling was manifested. A strong wish was expressed that some suitable memorial of Mr. Mann should be procured and placed in public view.

"The following persons were named as a committee to carry out the views of the meeting: Samuel G. Howe, George Boutwell, Josiah Quincy, George B. Emerson, Alpheus Crosby, Ezra S. Gannett, Gideon F. Thayer, Robert C. Waterson, and Edward Edmunds. Dr. Howe was afterwards chosen chairman and R. C. Waterson, secretary.

"Subscription papers were circulated through the state, but especially among the teachers, and a fund was raised, mainly in very small sums. A petition was presented to the legislature during the following winter, for leave to erect a bronze statue in the capitol grounds. The legislature not only granted the leave, but appropriated the sum of \$1500 to erect a pedestal. . . . After negotiation with several artists, a commission for the statue was given to Emma Stebbins."

The booklet then gives the following description of the dedicatory exercises:

### *Inauguration of the Statue of Horace Mann*

The statue was received in Boston in the spring of 1865 and was inaugurated early on the morning of the 4th of July. The ceremonies were simple and impressive. The statue was covered with a cloth. There was a gathering of eminent and earnest men and women on the platform in the rear. The green was filled with school children and a throng of people closed in on both sides.

After appropriate music by the Germania Band, the chairman, Samuel G. Howe, spoke as follows:

*"Friends and Fellow-Citizens*—Human instincts lead men, in all ages, to build monuments of some kind in memory of those individuals who manifest in a striking degree the qualities which are held in the highest esteem in their generation. Savages raise a pile of stones over the bodies of their strongest and most cunning chiefs; barbarians erect monuments to the great conquerors; military people, to great generals; democracies, to great orators; aristocracies, to the 'purple born' and the like. Given the monuments which any people or any set of men build, and you may know the character of the builders.

"In all ages, the great artists have been called upon to illustrate and to perpetuate on canvas, in marble, or in bronze, the virtues and excellences of those whom the people held in high esteem. Hitherto, for the most part, these honors of art have been monopolized by the great fighters, by the great writers, or by the great talkers. We today dedicate a monument to the memory of a man whose greatness grew out of his love for his fellowmen, his belief in their innate goodness and capacity for improvement, and his burning zeal to elevate and to improve them. He loved the people; he lived for and labored for the people; nay, he died for the people, inasmuch as his premature death was brought on by over-zeal and over-work in the cause of popular education. Fellow-Citizens, it is proper that such a state as Massachusetts should rear a monument to such a man; for it is alike the proof of his greatness and goodness and of their virtue and intelligence. And the people of Massachusetts have indeed built one, since the means for erecting this statue were given by the people at large and not by the rich. A few rich gave

of their abundance, but many poor gave of their poverty. The schoolmaster who could spare but a dollar; the schoolmistress who could spare but fifty cents; the little boys and girls who could give but a dime—have all contributed to this work; and the state of Massachusetts herself, as if to stamp her approval upon it, by the vote of the legislature contributed the money to build the pedestal. The monument stands, therefore, a token of the people's love and reverence for the man who loved and respected them. The work itself has been done by an American woman; by a woman of genius and of heart; by a woman who, inspired by the nobleness of her subject, has wrought out with cunning hand the monument which we now unveil to your eyes—the statue of Horace Mann.”

As he pronounced the last words, the knot which confined the covering was loosed, and the cloth slipping slowly down revealed the statue to sight, amid much applause and congratulation, for it was evident to all, at first glance, that the artist had caught the likeness and that, as a whole, her work was a great success.

In a moment a sweet little girl six years old tripped up a light ladder behind the statue and placed upon the head a crown of fresh laurel leaves. Reverend R. C. Waterson then offered the following prayer:

“Almighty God, source of infinite wisdom! on this great day of the nation's rejoicing—this birthday of freedom, dear to all our hearts, associated with so many inspiring thoughts and principles—we would invoke Thy blessing upon the occasion which has brought us together. The friends of education would consecrate before Thee, and to the best interests of humanity, this memorial of a great and good man. Holy Father, Thou who hast never left the world without a wit-

ness, who hast raised up through the succeeding generations guiding spirits to be the light of their day, we thank Thee for the long line of martyrs and reformers, for the men, true and magnanimous who, in past time, have been the benefactors of mankind. On this day we would thank Thee for all who have dedicated their powers to the cause of goodness and the advancement of their race in our commonwealth and throughout the country.

“Especially, Almighty God, would we thank Thee that in this land, where the institutions of learning are revered, Thou didst raise up Thy servant to be a leader among the people and to promote with such marked success the welfare of his country. We thank Thee, Holy Father, for those remarkable gifts with which Thou didst endow him—which he zealously devoted to the public service. We thank Thee that in Thy Providence he was called from his private studies and pursuits to a work so intimately connected with the elevation of the commonwealth; and are rejoiced that we have among us the enduring monuments of his wise zeal and self-sacrificing fidelity—the hospitals which have been erected for the benefit of the unfortunate, and those seminaries of learning, the normal schools—the first established upon this continent, consecrated by his toil, centers of light and beneficence. We thank Thee for all that he accomplished through succeeding years of judicious labor: and now, Almighty God, that we behold the widespread results of his efforts, we have here met that we may pay a grateful tribute to his memory; bowing in heartfelt adoration before Thee that such a man has lived and that we are permitted to see a portion of the ingathering harvests from the seeds which he scattered abroad. The old and the young, the wise and the unlearned, the head of the commonwealth, the teachers of

our schools, our legislators, our philanthropists, the little children of the land, have come together, that they may pour forth their grateful thanksgiving to Thee, and that they may be quickened by the memory of his deeds and his character. O God! in Thy presence we have seen the innocent hand of childhood laying its wreath upon this lofty brow in reverential affection.

"We now dedicate this statue to all that is truest and best in the commonwealth: we pray, Heavenly Father, that it may stand here in the public place—before the halls of legislation, to guide, to quicken, and to cheer; to kindle a pure patriotism, a love of truth, of virtue, and of mankind. On this day of freedom, when our victorious armies are returning to their peaceful homes, the integrity of the nation preserved; in this wonderful period of our history when every fetter has fallen or is falling, and slavery is to exist no longer, we have assembled amid great rejoicings, to consecrate this statue in a land of universal freedom. Holy Father, we recognize Thee in Thy marvelous workings; and we pray that this monument may stand from generation to generation, a memorial of self-devoted toil, wisdom, and philanthropy, inspiring the young to renewed effort.

"We pray for Thy blessing upon the commonwealth and the whole country, our universities and schools, and upon all for whom we should pray throughout the world. To Thee, source of supreme intelligence, we consecrate this work of art. May it accelerate the progress of truth and herald the coming of Thy Kingdom; and unto Thee, through the Blessed Redeemer, who went about doing good, we will return praise and thanksgiving and homage, forever and ever. Amen."

The chairman then introduced His Excellency, Governor Andrew, who spoke as follows:

*"Friends and Fellow-Citizens—*On the 17th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, we dedicated on the banks of the Merrimac a votive column, reared to the memory of those who fell as the first martyrs in the great rebellion. Today, the 4th of July, near the shore of the Bay of Massachusetts, we inaugurate this statue of enduring bronze to preserve in memory and to hand down to the generations, the form and features of a sage, whose life helped to make those simple citizens heroic soldiers, and to render possible the triumph of liberty and manhood, of which the demonstrations signaling this anniversary are a joyful and continental celebration.

"They were young, and bore the weapons of war when they fell. He was mature in age, and knew no weapon but his voice and pen. They obeyed their country, and marched the moment they heard her call. He was elected from his early manhood to his high vocation, when, at his graduation from college, he discoursed on 'The Progressive Character of the Human Race.' Theirs was a brief, sharp conflict. His was the struggle and the toil of many manly years. Worn out by excessive devotion to his work, he—not less than they who were slain in fight—seemed to the vision of man to have died before his time.

"In May 1796, Horace Mann was born, a native of Massachusetts. Graduated at Brown University in Rhode Island, where he was afterwards a tutor of Latin and Greek, he became in 1823 a member of the bar of Norfolk. The next year, forty-one years ago this day, he delivered at Dedham an oration commemorative of American independence. Three years after that, he was chosen to represent the town of Dedham in the General Court of the commonwealth. In 1836 he was president of the Senate, to which he had been elected

from the County of Suffolk, having changed his residence and become a citizen of Boston.

"It was in his chair as the presiding officer of the Senate that I first saw this most impressive and truly eminent person who, though already ripe in age, mature in thought, and of much experience in affairs, had then scarcely laid the visible foundation of his subsequent great and enduring fame. It was one year later than that when he became secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. And in that new position which he created rather than filled, he rose by a rare genius for a work in which he could become the benefactor of mankind, to lasting and acknowledged greatness. He proved how lofty thought, how grand ideas, exact and precise learning, combined with poetic conception, with careful and toilsome elaboration of the humblest details, and with energy and undying faith, could be united and made visibly manifest in the life of a single man.

"It is hardly too much to affirm that the eleven years of his service as the head of the system of popular education in Massachusetts lifted the cause itself into a prominence and value in the public thought not known before, reformed and vitalized the system itself, and thus far, until this hour, has given to all other men their sufficient task in trying to hold up the standard he reared almost alone.

"The death of John Quincy Adams, in his place in Congress, turned the people toward Horace Mann for his successor. He obeyed their call. In 1848 he ascended the steps of the Capitol to wear the mantle of that wonderful old man who, after his own public career had once apparently ended, had contributed more to the lasting fame of Massachusetts and to American liberty than had been done by all his contemporaries in the public service from his native commonwealth.

"In Congress, on the stump, or in the courtroom when he defended Drayton and Sayres under a ferocious slave code, Horace Mann may be truly declared to have achieved, by means of his marvelous dialectics, his absolute devotion, his endurance of labor, his ingenious and fertile versatility of intellect, all that could have been expected of a person whose previous life had been that of uninterrupted political or professional employment. And yet he for a dozen years had laid aside the law for which he was educated, and had abandoned political life for which he had exhibited so much adaptation, and had given his heart and brain and hand to the single task, with undivided effort, of elevating the district school and of bettering the system by which children were taught the common rudiments of common knowledge.

"In 1853 he accepted the presidency of Antioch College in Ohio; and there he expended the last six years of a most active, devoted, and memorable life of duty and high example. On every work he undertook, he stamped himself. Thenceforth it bore the image of his powerful will, his lofty conceptions, his singular independence, his faithful integrity; and these works, the amelioration of man's estate by which he made posterity his debtors, are the true monuments commemorative of such a character and such a life.

"Not for his sake, therefore, but for ours and for our children's, in the name of Massachusetts and in behalf of her people, of the sacred cause of learning and the less holy cause of liberty, I inaugurate this monumental effigy of Horace Mann. Here shall it stand, mute but eloquent, in sunshine and in storm. On the brow of Beacon Hill, in front of the capitol of the commonwealth, side by side, the statues of Webster and of Mann will attract the gaze of coming generations, defying the decays of time, long after these living

men and women who assist in this day's ceremonies shall have slept in the dust with their fathers.

"On the one hand is the statue of Daniel Webster, the great jurist, the great statesman, the great American. On the other hand is the statue of Horace Mann, the teacher of philosophy in its application both to politics and to popular learning, whose constituency was mankind. The rising sun of the morning will turn from the purple east to salute his brow; and when his golden orb ascends to the zenith, shining down from on high in the heavens, he will wrap and warm them both with generous embrace in his lambent love and glory."

The following hymn was sung by a choir of children to the tune of "Old Hundred":

*O Thou at whose dread name we bend,  
To whom our purest vows we pay,  
God over all, in love descend,  
And bless the service of this day.*

*Our fathers here, a pilgrim band,  
Fixed the proud empire of the free;  
Art moved in gladness o'er the land,  
And Faith her altars reared to Thee.*

*Here, too, to guard, through every age,  
The sacred rights their valor won,  
They bade Instruction spread her page,  
And send down Truth from sire to son.*

*Here still, through all succeeding time,  
Their stores may truth and learning bring,  
And still the anthem-note sublime  
To Thee from children's children sing.*

Dr. Howe then introduced John D. Philbrick, superintendent of the public schools of Boston, who would represent the city in the necessary absence of the mayor. Mr. Philbrick spoke as follows:

*"Mr. Chairman*—I am happy to participate with you on this occasion, in doing honor to the greatest advocate of popular education, by inaugurating this monumental statue to his memory, here beneath the walls of the capitol, on this most auspicious morning of our national anniversary. I feel that it is good for me to be here; not indeed to make any eulogy concerning this great man, since the arrangements contemplate no such service, but to unite with the friends of humanity who have caused this memorial to be erected, in dedicating it, with these simple ceremonies, to that honored name which is destined to help keep the name of this commonwealth respectable for ages to come.

"It was not my fortune to enjoy the privilege of an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Mann; but I learned long ago to venerate his character and to be grateful for his self-sacrificing labors in the cause of education. Not but that he had other titles to our admiration and regard. He was a philanthropist and a statesman. But he will be known and honored hereafter chiefly as the great educationist. His great toils and his great triumphs were in the educational field, as the foremost champion in all the world to this day, of the true doctrine of public instruction. All his other labors and services, whether in earlier or later life, were but preparatory or supplementary to this grand mission of his life. This is, and is to be, the crown of his glory. The way he took was his choice because he thought it led to eminent usefulness, though beset with difficulties and trials. I rejoice that it has led to distinguished honor.

"Mr. Mann once said of himself to a friend, 'All my boyish castles in the air had reference to doing something for the benefit of mankind; and I had a conviction that knowledge was my needed instrument.'

"Here we find the key to his whole life, his ends, his motives, and his means—the cultivation of his own mind and heart with the view to use his acquisitions and powers for the improvement of his fellow-beings. He saw and felt that to be a doer of good was the true and lawful end of all aspiring; and thus at an early age his ambition was turned into the channel of benevolence. Gradually, as his mind expanded and his observation and expression were enlarged, he came to see clearly, beyond all shadow of doubt, that the most beneficent of all the work which it was given men to do, was that of diffusing knowledge and virtue among men. And, rising at length above the ends and aims of ordinary statesmanship, his comprehensive intellect, in its imperial sweep and its prophetic forecast, came to see that our free institutes of government and religion—the rich inheritance of our fathers—could be maintained and preserved and enjoyed, only by an intelligent and moral people. He saw also that the necessary intellectual and moral culture for the national safety, and the national prosperity and happiness, could be obtained only through the instrumentality of FREE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OPEN TO ALL, GOOD ENOUGH FOR ALL, AND ATTENDED BY ALL. Nor did he stop here. He saw, and demonstrated with irrefutable logic, and enforced with eloquence unsurpassed, the right of every child to education and the corresponding duty of the state to furnish it. And so by degrees he rose to the height of the great argument of universal education.

"Thus he seems to have been prepared by providential

training and development for his high vocation; and when fully ripe for the undertaking, the appropriate office was providentially ready for his acceptance. On June 29, 1837, he was chosen the first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Never were man and place better adapted to each other. His boldness combined with caution, his dauntless courage and unwearied patience, his zeal and fidelity, and his faith in the ultimate triumph of the right and in the progress of the race, were the qualities needed in the pioneer work he was called to perform. In this office, which his name has rendered illustrious, he labored during twelve years for the elevation and regeneration of the public schools of the state, with an enthusiasm and self-sacrificing devotion which we can now look back upon and contemplate only with astonishment and admiration. His twelve reports as secretary of the Board, his published lectures and addresses on the subject of popular education, and his essays in the *Common School Journal* which he edited during the period of his secretaryship, constitute by far the most valuable body of educational literature ever produced by one mind. They have given an impulse to the public mind on the subject of education of incalculable importance. They are his preserved, we would thank Thee for all which, under Thy true monument, his ever-enduring memorial. The potent forces which he set in motion through the instrumentality of his spoken and written words continue their beneficent operations in all our borders. We see their effects in all that we most value in our civilization. It may well be doubted, whether any other man has done so much as he has to shape the destiny and determine the future history of the commonwealth.

“Although, during those twelve years, technically and officially limited in his aims to the specific task of elevating

and improving the public schools of this state, the effects of his beneficent labors soon extended from state to state, through the land and beyond the sea, till they were felt more or less in every civilized nation on the globe. Never has any man had a deeper, broader, truer sense of what popular education should be, its nature and necessity, and the means of securing it; or who said more or did more to sink it deep into the hearts of men.

"His name and fame are secure; they need no monument of bronze or marble to perpetuate their memory. But, as an expression of our appreciation of the transcendent importance of the cause for which he labored, it is eminently fitting that this sculptured image should be set up where it will meet the eye of every legislator as he enters 'our halls of council.' Indeed, 'it is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the *unfinished work*,' which he did so much to promote. 'It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from this honored name we take increased devotion to that cause for which he gave the last full measure of devotion.'

"I rejoice especially in this occasion because it is the first time in the history of this country, if not of the world, that the genius of sculpture has been invoked to aid in rendering such honors to one who gave himself to the education, not of a sect or of a favored class, but of the whole mass of the people, the rich and poor, bond and free, without distinction of race, color, or nationality. It thus becomes in some sort a landmark to indicate a new step in the progress of society.

"And I must not omit to call to mind at this time the important fact that Mr. Mann, in his efforts to promote the cause of popular education, came to see that this object could be accomplished only by *good teachers*; and hence his Hercu-

lean struggles to establish and maintain normal schools for the training of such teachers, and his unceasing endeavors to impress upon the public mind and heart the necessity of elevating and encouraging the profession of teaching, by bestowing upon it proper social consideration and adequate pecuniary compensation. What he did to dignify and magnify the teacher's calling entitles him to be reckoned as one of its noblest benefactors. But alas that his matchless appeals in its behalf should still be so little heeded even in this commonwealth!

"To my mind this majestic figure symbolizes, and will ever symbolize, as often as my eyes rest upon it, the grand and inspiring idea of progress—that idea which was at once the faith and inspiration of Horace Mann. He believed in, and therefore he labored for, the progress of mankind—the progress of the individual in intellectual, moral, and physical excellence, and consequently in happiness and usefulness; the progress of the state in freedom and justice, and consequently in national prosperity and power. Universal education he regarded as the divinely appointed means—education sanctified by religion—of realizing this grand idea, and therefore as the essential instrument of political improvement and of social advancement. It is his praise that he lived up to his idea. We have entered into his labors; and there is not a man or woman under middle age bred in the state, who is not better educated in consequence of Mr. Mann's labors. And now that we have honored him with this monument, let us honor him still more by imitating his example."

At the conclusion of Mr. Philbrick's remarks, Reverend Thomas Hill, D.D., president of Harvard College, came forward and spoke as follows:

"We have dedicated this statue, Fellow-Citizens, not more

to the memory of him of whose bodily presence it is so faithful a reminder, than to those great principles to which, especially during the twelve years in which he was first secretary of the Board of Education, he dedicated himself with such wonderful zeal, energy, and success. So long as it stands here on its firm pedestal, let it perpetually remind the people of this commonwealth, and their representatives in those halls of legislation, that Massachusetts by his appointment eight and twenty years ago last Thursday, pledged herself to lead those states who take a wise interest in the education of their citizens. Nobly did she struggle under his guidance, and with his powerful aid, to redeem that pledge. Let him, as he stands here in ever-enduring bronze, warn and admonish her that nothing but a perpetual struggle will enable her to maintain her place. The genius of the sculptor has filled those motionless lips with his wonted expression of mingled tenderness and severity, of stern self-renunciation, and inflexible devotion to his undertaken task; and, if Massachusetts listens, she cannot fail to hear in their silent eloquence the words, 'Honor not me, but honor the principles for which you gave me the opportunity to labor; remember that it is the right and the duty of a state to give each one of her children, of every class, and of either sex, that amount and that kind of education which shall best enable him to serve mankind.' Let us listen to his doctrine, for it is true. What St. Paul says of the church holds also of a nation, we are all one body and members in particular. Each individual member of the body politic serves best his own interests by serving the interests of the whole, and the nation best serves the interest of the whole by guarding carefully the interests and rights of each individual. The least honorable members are oftentimes most useful and most worthy of special care.

"In this newly regenerate nation, therefore, let there be no North, no South, no East, no West, no Celt nor Anglo-Saxon, Teuton nor African, male nor female, bond nor free; but let American citizenship be all in all, securing to each man equal attention, equal protection, and equal opportunity to gain that amount and that kind of education which will enable him most thoroughly to serve the nation. But, should the American people fail of obtaining rapidly this full stature of manhood, let, at all events, the commonwealth of Massachusetts show an example of united devotion to the highest aims. Let there be no jealousy here between the seaboard and the mountains, between the farmer and the manufacturer; but let all unite in sustaining the honor and the interests of the state—well-assured that the interests of all sections and of all classes must, in the long run, prove identical.

"Your common schools once stood superior to any on the continent; but New York and the Northwestern states are more thoroughly awakened, more free from the trammels of routine, more generous, in proportion to their means, in outlay, and will soon outstrip you unless you renew your zeal. Your colleges and your university once stood in a proud pre-eminence over those of sister states; but other states have now for many years been imitating with great success your previous steps, and will in a few years, unless you hasten to anticipate them, have more richly endowed, more thoroughly organized, and more generally comprehensive institutions for the highest education, than you. Let Massachusetts retrieve and increase her ancient honors.

"Let us never forget, so long as this sacred image recalls the faithful and tireless first secretary of the Board of Education, that it is the right and the duty of the state to provide for each child that amount and that kind of education which

will most surely prepare him for as great usefulness to his race as his native talents will permit him to attain. Our common schools are yet susceptible of improvement in their mode of rendering the great mass of the people intelligent and happy co-laborers in the work of society. Our state scholarships, although useful, fall very far short of enabling all our children who desire it to obtain a collegiate education. The commonwealth must not fail to put to the utmost use all the talent of all her sons; and the higher the talent, the more need there is of utilizing it. Those, therefore, who would pursue the highest walks of literature or science or art, or would make themselves masters of philosophy and political economy and jurisprudence and statesmanship, and thus fit themselves for the highest possible service of the state, should be freely aided by the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and not be left dependent on private fortunes nor forced to seek aid in the universities of foreign lands.

“Let the state determine so to improve all her facilities of education as rather to attract the youth of foreign lands hither. Horace Mann in his youth proclaimed the eternal progress of a true state: let not the erection of his statue mark the time when this state ceased to advance and rested satisfied with her imperfect attainments. Rather let us honor his name by giving ourselves heartily to the high ends of humanity and the broad cause of education with which he was identified, and in which he won a name more enduring than bronze, and established himself in the affectionate remembrance of the people more firmly than any work of man’s hands can be placed upon its foundation.”

At the conclusion of President Hill’s address, the children sang with much spirit the patriotic anthem, “America”:

*My country, 'tis of thee,  
Sweet land of liberty,  
Of thee I sing;  
Land where my fathers died,  
Land of the pilgrim's pride,  
From every mountain-side  
Let freedom ring.*

*My native country, thee,  
Land of the noble free,  
Thy name I love;  
I love thy rocks and rills,  
Thy woods and templed hills;  
My heart with rapture thrills  
Like that above.*

*Let music swell the breeze,  
And ring from all the trees  
Sweet freedom's song;  
Let mortal tongues awake,  
Let all that breathe partake,  
Let rocks their silence break—  
The sound prolong.*

*Our fathers' God, to Thee,  
Author of liberty,  
To Thee we sing;  
Long may our land be bright  
With freedom's holy light;  
Protect us by Thy might,  
Great God, our King.*

A benediction was then pronounced to conclude these simple but earnest and impressive services.

## Dedication of the Monument to Horace Mann at Antioch College, 1884

In June 1884 the friends and students of Antioch College dedicated a monument to Horace Mann, their beloved first president. The monument (pictured on page 78) is on the College grounds at the spot where Horace Mann was first buried in 1859 and where his body remained for about one year. An editorial in the *Antiochian* [128:20-21] describes the monument:

"A beautiful granite monument stands in the College campus erected this year by friends and former students of the college. The granite was brought from Massachusetts, President Mann's native state, and it grew into beauty under the loving direction of George Dodds of Xenia, Ohio, who was for several years one of Mr. Mann's pupils. The inscription records Horace Mann's last words to his last class—*'I beseech you to treasure up in your hearts these my parting words: Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity.'*

"Professor J. B. Weston, president of the Christian Biblical Institute, Stanfordville, came at his own expense from New York for the purpose of delivering the memorial lecture at the unveiling of the monument, thus making himself a large contributor. Honorable John Kebler gave an address at the close of the exercises."

Dr. Weston's notable address was published several years later. In his preface, he states: "The author of this was associated with Horace Mann during the six years of his presidency of Antioch College, entering the first freshman class in 1853 and graduating with the first class graduated in 1857. At Mr. Mann's request he was at once called to a position on

the faculty of the College. He remained one of the faculty during the lifetime of Mr. Mann, and afterward, sometimes as acting president, until 1881. In that year, on the death of Austin Craig, himself a personal friend and favorite of Mr. Mann, he was called to his present position."

Dr. Weston's Memorial Address delivered at the unveiling is here reprinted from the booklet published in 1887 by Fowler and Wells [83: 5-24]:

*Horace Mann: A View of His Life and Its Meaning*

By REVEREND J. B. WESTON, D.D., President  
Christian Biblical Institute, Stanfordville, New York

It is now nearly thirty-one years ago that, upon the campus in front of these buildings, an immense crowd was assembled to witness the dedication of Antioch College.

The campus was ungraded and unfenced, without trees and without sod. The north building alone was finished. The rooms of the central building were finished, but the towers were not. The walls only of the south building were up. Everything else, in and around, was in the confusion of unfinished work. But the throng was here. They were of varied classes and from various parts. They had come in by railroads, high-roads and by-roads—judges and lawyers and ministers, merchants and artisans and farmers, men and women and children. For months the event had been awaited throughout Ohio, and farther away, with an increasing enthusiasm of expectancy.

Antioch had been founded by a people wishing to be Christians, and to be known by that name and that only. They had named the college from the Syrian city where the disciples of Christ were first called "Christians." They had wished to establish a college as broad and as liberal as their

own principles. They had entered on the work with a zeal exceeding their wisdom. They had aroused the country with the grandeur of their plans; and now the consummation was at hand, and the throng had come to witness it.

To marshal and lead the educational force, to arrange and give direction to the enterprise pregnant with hopes so high, one had been called whose name was known, on both sides of the Atlantic, as the grand apostle of education for the time and for the nation. He stood, on this occasion, to give the keynote to the new enterprise—to utter the words which should not only be the address of inauguration as the first president of the College, but of the inauguration of the College to its place among the colleges of the land.

Before and above this “sea of upturned faces” stands the chosen leader, HORACE MANN—tall, but apparently fragile; his thin white locks scarcely covering, as with silken fringe, a head, high and broad in front, but behind of remarkably less development, showing large predominance of the intellectual and spiritual faculties over the animal propensities of his nature.

He speaks. The seemingly fragile form is aglow with intellectual and moral fire. His words go forth as if not his own, to take possession of, to hold and mold the minds of the assembled mass before him. His first sentence bespeaks himself and the high purpose to which his life was devoted, and to which he would devote all measures and agencies in anywise under his control.

“It is pleasant to the eye,” he says, “to behold the grand and imposing edifice in which we have met; but, oh! how much more joyful to the heart to contemplate the beneficent and sacred purposes for which it has been erected. Let us dedicate it to the two great objects—which can never be

rightfully separated from each other—the honor of God and the service of man; and while we consecrate this material structure to duty and humanity, let us renewedly consecrate our own hearts to the worship of our Father in Heaven, and to the welfare of our brethren on earth.”

*This material structure to the honor of God and the service of man! Our own hearts to the worship of our Father in Heaven, and to the welfare of our brethren upon earth!* May the benediction of that first utterance here, from the lips of him to whose sainted memory we raise our humble monument today, be ever upon these buildings, and upon our souls, and all souls for all time, who may have aught to do with their mission!

All through that memorable address were thrilling words, attuned to that grand key. God, duty, and humanity, were its theme throughout. The bringing of man to the fullest compliance with the laws of God, in every department of his being, that he might thereby come again to that nobility of character which through disobedience he had lost; and that, with this restored nobility, he might come nearer to God and do better service for men—the education and elevation of all men and women, alike and together—body, mind and morals; body and mind as powers and instrumentalities, but the moral nature especially as their guiding will, in order that they might be powers and instrumentalities for good and not evil; as well as that man might become more God-like in himself. This was grandly presented in it, with a wealth of illustration, a power of diction, and a force of eloquence, which inspired every mind that heard it and still inspires everyone that reads it.

The keynote struck in those first words was powerful because it was *not* new. It had the strength of long and well-

sustained experience. Those were not words born of the enthusiasm of a new convert; they were the reflection of a life; they were the utterance of a deep conviction that had given tone to his whole career from early manhood to those ripened years. In every sphere in which he had been called to act, the same high purpose had been before him. Life to him had always had a meaning too sacred to be trifled with by aims or acts either selfish or trivial. No reward could repay to him a sacrifice of conscience; and the test of love and fealty to God was to do good to man. "Lovest thou Me?" he quoted. "Feed My lambs."

This led him as a lawyer never to take up a cause that he deemed unjust nor accept a fee to defend a wrong. This, when a member of the Massachusetts legislature—first, for seven years as a member of the lower house from Dedham, where he commenced his practice of law; and afterwards, for four years as a senator from Boston, when he had removed his residence to that city—made him a leader on all questions pertaining to morals, public charities, education, the welfare of the unfortunate classes, as well as the progress of material interests. His first speech was in behalf of religious freedom, in opposition to a bill providing for using a portion of public funds for the support of sectarian schools; his second was in behalf of railroads—so far as known, the first speech on that subject made in any legislative body in the United States. Out of this spirit came his advocacy, as early as 1830, of the establishment by the state of a lunatic asylum, of which the state asylum at Worcester, Massachusetts, the first established on this side of the Atlantic, was the result. It was Horace Mann, young in years and legislative experience, but awake to every interest of man, who alone made the motion for the appointment of a Committee of

Inquiry, wrote its report, drew up its resolutions for the erecting of a hospital, and made the only speech in its favor. What an array can now be seen in every state in the Union of these beneficent and humane institutions—all the outcome of that singlehanded battle made against strong, popular, and religious prejudices!

In the same spirit, he became one of the earliest advocates of temperance legislation. In 1832 he advocated a law for the restriction of the sale of intoxicating drinks, and the prohibition of their sale on Sundays. At that time only two Boston men in the legislature stood with him—one a physician, the other the last survivor of the old "Boston Tea Party." In 1837 such a law was passed by an overwhelming majority in both houses. And when it became his privilege, as president of the Senate, to sign the bill, it was with a feeling of exultation. He felt that a moral victory had been gained. It was a license law, incorporating these restrictions, and he had great hopes from it. But at the same time, his ideal of the triumph of temperance reform he declared to be, "The utter prohibition of the sale of ardent spirits as a drink, and the abrogation of the laws authorizing the existence of public places for their use or sale."

It was in this position as legislator, and from this devotedness to God and humanity, that he began what was to be the great and distinctive work of his life—that in which he was to leave his best legacy to the world—his apostleship in the cause of general education.

We have now little conception of the condition of the public schools of that day, even in Massachusetts. As a rule, they only furnished beggarly opportunities, for a few weeks each year, to pursue the most rudimentary of studies under the most rudimentary of instructors.

In that condition, the schools were doing only poor work for the poorer classes. It was the view of Mr. Mann that a general education of all classes was essential to fit them for life and for citizenship; that, to this end, the state should take the matter more fully in hand; that the state should see that schools were in worthy hands; that a higher standard of qualifications, a better adaptness to the work, should be required of all teachers; that the best talent in this work should be in the service of the state for the general good; that special schools should be maintained at public expense to prepare teachers for the best possible work; and that thus the public schools should afford, both to rich and poor, the best opportunities for elementary education.

To effect this, it was proposed that a board of education, composed of men of large intelligence and earnest spirit, should be put at the head of the work.

A bill to this effect was proposed and defended by him, and through his exertion became a law in 1837. The law contemplated the appointment by the board of a secretary, who should be their active agent in the work. Mr. Mann was made a member of the board and subsequently its secretary. It was with no eye to this position that he had advocated the bill and the suggestion was a surprise to him. "For myself," he says, "I never had a sleeping nor a waking dream that I should ever think of myself, or be thought of by any others in relation to that station." But it was evident to all that the man whose intelligence and zeal had conceived the work was the man to inaugurate it and carry it through.

When the office was urged upon him, he accepted; at first with reluctance, but finally from a conviction of duty. He foresaw the sacrifice that would be demanded and weighed

it all. While he was balancing the question in his mind, he says in his journal (June 28, 1837):

"I tremble at the idea of the task that possibly now lies before me. Yet I can now conscientiously say that here stands my purpose, ready to undergo the hardships and privations to which I must be subjected, and to encounter the jealousy, the misrepresentation, and the prejudice almost certain to arise; here stands my mind, ready to meet them in the spirit of a martyr. . . . I know one thing—if I stand by the principles of truth and duty, nothing can inflict upon me any permanent harm."

After deciding to accept it, in view of the impediments which he foresaw, he says, "God grant me an annihilation of selfishness, a mind of wisdom, a heart of benevolence. . . . There is but one spirit in which these impediments can be met with success; it is the spirit of self-abandonment, the spirit of martyrdom. . . . Henceforth, so long as I hold this office, I devote myself to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth."

And when he said "the welfare of mankind upon earth" he meant mankind in its broadest sense. It included rich and poor, man and woman, native and foreign, free and bond, white, red, and black. His idea of mankind had the breadth of that which moved the heart of the Son of God, and led Him to give Himself for their welfare and salvation.

True, his anxiety to keep his work free from all prejudices that did not necessarily pertain to it, made him sensitive to any action on the part of those who were associated with him which would awaken unnecessary opposition. Hence he was desirous that they should keep aloof from anything which should turn the popular prejudices of the time against abolition to the embarrassment of his special work. But when, on

the establishment of the normal school at West Newton, Wendell Phillips—in one of those unaccountable epicycles of conduct which were often found playing upon the orbit of his life, so grand in its general sweep, making it sometimes uncertain whereabouts exactly in the moral heavens he was to be found—sought to embarrass him by sending a colored young lady to apply for admission to the school, he met the case, not in the spirit in which it had been precipitated, but in the broadest spirit of humanity. Failing, after many efforts, to find a boarding-place for her in the town, he took her into his own family, had her eat at his own table, whoever were his guests—judges, governors, or what not; sinking the question of color in her nobility as a woman seeking to qualify herself to do good to others.

Here is indicated, in word and practice, his conviction of the obligation binding on him by his kinship to the race, and his devotedness to his work, which sprang out of that benevolent regard. In this spirit he entered on the duties of the office.

The zeal with which he entered on his new and most important mission—the wisdom with which he prosecuted it—the untiring vigilance and industry with which he watched opportunities and prosecuted measures—taking no holidays, giving himself no relaxation, paying often out of his own pocket the expenses necessary to furnish means which the cause demanded and which the state was not yet up to the mark of furnishing; even selling his law library to furnish means for this purpose—the revolution wrought in the public schools during the eleven years that he held the office—the infection of his spirit in other noble souls, resulting in a similar advance of educational interests all along the line of the northern states—are facts of history that do not need repeating; facts to which the noble, advanced, and advancing sys-

tem of public schools throughout our country bears standing testimony. But the key to it all was this high ideal of the possibilities of human nature; his strong sense of obligation to God, the Creator and Father of man; his devotion to man as man, regardless of distinctions of sex, race, or color; his recognition of kinship and fraternal obligation to the race; and his spirit of unselfish, untiring devotion to the work to which he felt himself called by the highest convictions of duty.

He had to meet all the obstacles that he foresaw—and in varied forms; but he pressed his way through them and over them, and won for the cause, and for himself, the success which has made his name honored in all the world.

When in April 1848, Mr. Mann was called to represent his district in Congress, as the immediate successor of John Quincy Adams, who had fallen in his seat in February preceding, he carried the same spirit into his political life.

Those were stirring times. The political battle between slavery and freedom was at its height. The South was united, clamorous, aggressive, defiant. From the North, a few men like John Quincy Adams, Joshua R. Giddings, John P. Hale, with some others, faithful and true, could not be awed into silence. In 1845, Texas had been annexed to the United States, adding one state, with the possibility of two or three more, to the area of slavery. The anti-slavery sentiment of the North had opposed it, slavery demanded it, Northern conservatism and timidity yielded, and slavery won. In 1846-47, the war with Mexico had been fought in the interest of the South. Again the anti-slavery people had opposed it, slavery demanded it, political timidity yielded, and slavery won.

As a result, the Mexican states of upper California and New Mexico had been added to our national domain, terri-

tory sufficient for several additional states. Under Mexico, in this territory slavery was forbidden. Whether it should remain so, or should be opened to the spread of slavery, thereby to increase the power of slavery in the control of national affairs, was a question which was exciting the minds of the nation and of the national Congress to a fever heat. When Horace Mann took in Congress the place of John Quincy Adams, all the impulses of his nature, all the convictions that had determined his life, were on the side of freedom. Conscience and humanity to him were law. To moral cowardice he was an utter stranger. White man or Negro, freeman or slave, to him, "A man's a man, for a' that."

The voice of humanity, suffering and in need, was to him the call of duty and of God. This placed him in the ranks of those heroic men who were fighting the battles of freedom and resisting the encroachments of slavery. To this cause he brought his patient industry, his legal acumen, enlarged by the broad sympathies which the work of his later years had fostered, and that powerful rhetoric which clothed his eloquence in words of fire whenever the cause of humanity called for an advocate or a defender. In June 1848, less than three months after taking his seat, he made a speech on the constitutional question of "the right of Congress to legislate for the territories, and its duty to exclude slavery therefrom"; and in February 1849, another on "Slavery in the United States, and the slave trade in the District of Columbia."

In this latter speech, he expressed the animus of his whole action. To the standard question, put to him by Mr. Broadhead in the midst of his speech, "Would you advance the slaves to an equal social and political condition with the white race?" his impromptu answer was: "I would give to *every human being* the best opportunities I could to develop and

culture the faculties which God has bestowed upon him, and which therefore, he holds under a Divine charter. I would take from his neck the heel that has trodden him down; I would dispel from his mind the cloud that has enshrouded him in moral night; I would remove the obstacles that have forbidden his soul to aspire; and, having done this, I would leave him, as I would every other man, to find his level—to occupy the position to which he should be entitled by his intelligence and his virtues.” It was in no spirit of fanaticism, in no sectional or partisan interest, that he was so earnest in this cause; but from the broad and humanitarian views that had inspired his whole life, and from that devotion to conscience and to God which had governed it.

The question as to what should be done with the territory acquired from Mexico, came to a crisis in 1850, in the propositions to admit California as a state, and to give a territorial government to New Mexico. The Missouri Compromise, of previous legislation, had established the parallel of 36 degrees, 30 minutes as a line, north of which slavery should not be allowed.

A proposition to admit California into the Union as a free state and to extend the “Wilmot Proviso,” which proposed to exclude slavery from all territory acquired from Mexico, had been urged by the North and was violently resisted by the South. Mr. Clay had introduced, as conditions of peace, his compromise measures known as “The Omnibus Bill.” Among the provisions of this bill especially obnoxious to the anti-slavery sentiment were, the organization of the territories without any restriction in regard to slavery, and the passage of a stringent law for the recovery and return of fugitive slaves. The sop thrown to the anti-slavery men in return for this was the admission of California as a free state,

and the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, while slavery there was to remain intact.

Here it was that the break occurred between Mr. Mann and Daniel Webster, to whom he had been wont to look with especial reverence. Any compromise to slavery would be opposed by Mr. Mann with all the fervor of his nature. Mr. Webster was more reticent; but it was believed that, consistently with all his antecedents in speech and action, he would oppose it, too. Mr. Mann had expressed especial confidence in Mr. Webster in this respect. It was understood that there was an agreement between Mr. Webster and Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, one from each party, that both should oppose the bill in the Senate. But the 7th of March came, and Mr. Webster made his celebrated speech in advocacy of the compromise measures. In this, he opposed any legal restrictions upon the extension of slavery in the territories, and defended the adoption of the fugitive slave bill, with all its obnoxious provisions.

The speech fell like a clap of thunder on his anti-slavery friends. The next day, Mr. Mann said of him, "Mr. Webster spoke yesterday, and (would you believe it?) he is a fallen star. Lucifer descending from heaven! We all had the greatest confidence in him. He has disappointed us all. . . . I am overwhelmed."

When Honorable Roscoe Conkling of New York resigned his place in the Senate a few years ago to break with the administration, a senator was asked the next day, "Has not Mr. Conkling made a mistake?" "I do not know," was the reply. "But it seems to me," said the questioner, "that he has made a great mistake." "I don't know," repeated the senator, "We have not seen the papers yet; and you know we congressmen have no opinions till we have seen the papers."

That was a politician's answer. Mr. Mann did not have to wait till he had seen the papers before forming his opinion; from the standpoint of humanity, his conclusions were easily made and boldly expressed.

When John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, who had been a lifelong and active Democrat, had opposed the annexation of Texas and was ostracized and rejected from his party on account of it, he heard nothing from his party or his constituents for a long time but denunciations and execration. Finally, a letter came from Honorable Amos Tuck, who became his successor in the lower house of Congress, asking what was to be done. Mr. Hale replied: "I have done my duty, and it seems I have done myself by it, and I don't know that there is anything more to be done." Mr. Mann, too, did his duty, regardless of political consequences to himself.

He did not hesitate to criticize most thoroughly the arguments of the great statesman, in speeches and in letters. And the accuracy of his learning, the fearlessness of words, the sharpness of his sarcasm, and the moral grandeur of the stand he took, gave him the advantage in the contest. He was denounced by the partisans of his party, but was defended by the people and vindicated by being returned to Congress by the votes that represented the best moral sense of both parties. Mr. Webster, acting with a mistaken regard to his own interests, sacrificed the interests of humanity and sacrificed his own best renown in doing it. Mr. Mann, forgetting his own interests in his interest for humanity, found the reward which vindicates the wisdom of him who does the right thing, at severe cost, for the sake of the right thing that needs to be done.

But Mr. Webster was the feed attorney of commercial conservation and political timidity; Mr. Mann, the unfeed at-

torney of humanity and righteousness; pleading for the rights of those who could not plead for themselves. The one listened to the bidding of selfish interests and worldly policy; the other to the bidding of conscience and of God. The one looked with mistaken ambition to his chances for the Presidency; the other with unmistakable ambition to what was for the interest of his country and his fellowman. The acts of both are read, as all men's acts will be read, in the light of their real character, and of subsequent history.

I have cited these incidents of his life to show how it had all, and at all times, been permeated with the spirit of that address—the purpose to pursue, with unyielding, untiring earnestness, “the two grand objects which can never be rightfully separated—the honor of God, and the service of man.”

The keynote of that address was the keynote of his administration. He was won to accept the position by the opportunities that it offered to work for humanity in its broadest meaning. Doors opened to woman as well as to man; opportunities offered her for a collegiate education, side by side with her brother—a privilege then offered by no college of any rank except Oberlin; a chance to inaugurate his own idea of the best education for the human being, and to incorporate it in college work; to care, with one solicitude, for the development of body, mind, and spirit; to seek, with one endeavor, to redeem the race from the falls consequent upon physical, intellectual, and moral sins; and to restore him to the image in which he was created; the opportunity to do this, unbound by narrow creeds—where the idea of religion was to make people of better life and loftier purposes, rather than of orthodox thinking—these characteristics of the new enterprise won his heart and led him to undertake the work. What an inspiration did this grand spirit give to his daily

life and to all his acts! How nobly it shone in all his bearing! How clearly it echoed in all his words! How it infused into all who felt the touch of his spirit a higher idea of man, of duty, and of life!

His anxiety for the success of his work led him to courses which were sometimes criticized as timid and unwisely conservative. He was most anxious that his work for the elevation of woman should succeed. He was aware of the prejudices with which many looked upon the experiment. He was desirous that nothing should occur to lead any to say that woman was less a woman for the education she was gaining, or for the privilege of pursuing it under the same conditions as her brother and as his fellow-student. To mere reckless progressionists, some of his regulations were deemed too strict and the motive of them was impugned. He would have all things done for the elevation of woman, but as *woman*; to make her the equal of man but not his imitator; to have her rank with him in her knowledge and in her efficiency in lessening the ills and increasing the blessings of mankind; but not, therefore, as he quaintly said, "In wearing whiskers and singing bass." He had his own well-matured ideas of what were the best methods of success and he pursued them. Not the convenience, the prejudice, the whim—not even what might be best for the single individual, determined his decisions and his measures.

He would make the interests of the individual subserve the interests of the whole and would teach others to do the same. Personal whims and caprices and even personal advantage should yield to the grand end to be reached—the good of all. This was the interpretation of his doctrine on the relation of students to each other and to the whole school, which he called "the code of honor," a doctrine which has been much

misunderstood and misrepresented. This suggested his golden rule of fun, that, "That only is true fun which is fun for both sides."

This regard for man as man led him to take the position, so far in advance of the time and the latitude, in favor of granting opportunities of education to colored students. He avowed the principle that no human being should be excluded from educational privileges in any school of which he had control by reason of sex, or race, or complexion, or physical deformity, or any cause for which the person was not responsible, provided he had the requisite mental and moral qualifications. So when colored students offered themselves he accepted them. When a furor of prejudice was excited, he let it play itself out; but swerved not from his purpose. If officials opposed, he avowed his principles and still went on. If students threatened to leave, he told them it was their privilege—they could exclude themselves if they chose; but he would never shut the doors of knowledge in the face of any human being whatever who was not morally disqualified to enter. And this principle, that the College was not instituted for any class or classes, but for man as man, has been maintained with unflinching firmness, and often at great sacrifice, in all its history.

Not in the minor details of college work only, but in its every department, the same broad and inspiring purpose actuated him. In his private interviews with students, so frequent and so valuable; in his bearing and his instruction in the classroom; in his ministrations on Sundays from the desk; in those ever-memorable talks to the students after morning prayers, so full of inspiration and ennobling force; and everywhere by his very presence, his whole life was a reproducing power, acting upon all with whom he came in

contact. Himself the impersonation of his ideal of the consecration of one's best and fullest selfhood to God and humanity, he carried in himself a moral force, impressing himself, with his ideal, upon the school and all connected with it.

For six years did God spare him to institute and carry forward the work born of so high a purpose. For six years did he labor against obstacles and through difficulties which must forever remain unwritten. Of these, those only have a faint conception who were his coadjutors in the work and know something of the inner life of the time. In these six years, in spite of all these difficulties, and with Atlantean loads of unexpected anxieties and disappointments weighing upon his shoulders, he succeeded in infusing this spirit of high purpose and noble endeavor, for God's sake and man's sake, into all around him. Blessed are they who had the privilege of listening to his inspiring counsels and of enjoying his paternal watch, care, and advice. More blessed they whose privilege it was to know the man by daily associations and to feel the influence of his personal life. In these six years he so impressed himself upon the college life, so procreated his spirit into this child of his heart, that it has ever remained a distinguished characteristic of the institution.

So may it ever be!

But at last tired nature failed. The physical resources so carefully husbanded and so exhaustively used, gave way under the relaxation following the successful achievements of the work to which he had given body and mind and heart and purse in anxious effort—the redemption of the College from its crushing embarrassments, and the securing of it to the control of those who had stood by him and seconded his aims.

He fell at his post, at once victim and victor. Fell? Nay,

ascended! Of all the moments of that grand life none were more grand than the hour of dissolution. Conscious that the time had come, that the earthly work was ended, with mind strong and clear, with spiritual energies unabated, he still, as with the transcendency of Heaven's own light shining about him, gave words of earnestness and eloquence, inciting still to obedience to God and work of man. "Preach the laws of God" was his charge to his minister. "When you know not what to do," he said to his boys, "ask yourselves what Jesus Christ would have done under the same circumstances."

On that Pisgah height to which his life had led him, body and spirit parted company. The spirit passed easily to Heaven.

The manly form that stood so proudly on that day of inauguration was stricken down and laid quietly to rest beneath the soil, made sacred by his six years of life upon it. The voice was hushed. The inspiration of his personal presence was felt no more.

But he had done an imperishable work. His spirit lived, and lived on earth, though the body had perished and wasted away; lived, and still lives in how many lives today!

Upon the spot made sacred as the temporary restingplace of his bodily form, we today erect our humble monument to his memory. In this we honor not so much him as ourselves. Of our poor honor, thus expressed, he has no need. A higher honor is his—an immortality in two worlds; in the world on this side, and the world on the other side the veil that separates the temporal from the eternal. On this side, imperishable memorials, written in the institutions for the good of humanity of which he was the father or foster-father, and in minds and souls made purer and nobler and of greater use for the glory of God and the service of man, through his influence; on that side, an inheritance among the sanctified,

who have done well their work for God and man on earth, and are received to the kingdom of higher services, and higher achievements, and higher joys in the more immediate companionship of the Father of all goodness, and the Christ whose life on earth was his pattern of love and sacrifice to bring man to God and to his better self. Let us who live, whether we knew him personally or not, bestow on him the only honor he would ask—that of holding fast his spirit as he did the spirit of Christ, and consecrating our own hearts now, anew “to the worship of our Father in Heaven and the service of our brethren on the earth.”

And let us all—whether we can picture him as we knew him in his daily life before us or not, whether our work-a-day life calls us to other fields, or whether it is our privilege still, as students or teachers, to tread the halls consecrated by the work which he here began—let us reverently listen that we may hear him speaking from the Heaven that after all is perhaps nearer us than we think; let us hear today and hand down to the tomorrow the thrilling words of that last grand utterance from this spot:

“BE ASHAMED TO DIE TILL YOU HAVE ACHIEVED SOME VICTORY FOR HUMANITY.”

## Centenary of Horace Mann's Birth, 1896

The one-hundredth anniversary of Horace Mann's birth in 1896 was widely celebrated through memorial exercises and the publication of essays and articles. The National Education Association, in convention at Buffalo, New York, July 3-10, 1896, devoted a session to commemorative services, with addresses by the men who were then carrying on the tasks that the pioneer leader had laid down. [46: 52-74.] Aaron Gove, superintendent of schools, Denver, Colorado, pointed out that the occasion was unique:

"It is an honor to be here—an honor that is unprecedented. For the first time in the history of this Association, in the educational history of the country, people are aroused to commemorate the life of an eminent schoolmaster. Let us trust that this is the beginning of a movement toward an intelligent respect for the teacher, and that it will continue until no walk in life shall receive the attention of the American people to a greater extent than that of teaching."

In an address which has since been widely reprinted and quoted, William T. Harris, United States commissioner of education, reviewed the conditions under which Horace Mann worked and his contributions to education. He characterized his services as those of a missionary:

"Mr. Mann was a character inspired with missionary zeal to reform society by means of a school system. It was this missionary zeal that led him to advocate in the Massachusetts legislature the first insane asylum and secure its establishment; to favor the establishment of asylums for deaf and dumb and blind; to secure normal schools, humane school discipline, methods of instruction that appeal to the child's interest and arouse him to self-activity, and finally to devote

the evening of his life to the Antioch College experiment. It is this missionary zeal for the school that works so widely and in so many followers today. What enthusiastic teacher is not proud to be called a disciple of Horace Mann?"

The observance of the centenary was particularly notable at Antioch College. [136:4] A souvenir brochure was published "calling together from near and far the children of the College, that they may meet and clasp hands at the shrine where one of the first educators of the age offered up his life in their behalf. . . . Come to the spot hallowed by a thousand associations, into which Horace Mann breathed a life that can never die. Come, and—to use a favorite quotation of his—'Orient yourselves,' and go forth again, refreshed, to the duties of life." [19:3]

The memorial exercises were held at the College on June 16, 1896, and included addresses by W. A. Bell, a former student, Dr. Edward Orton, president of Ohio State University and former president of Antioch, and Dr. J. B. Weston, president of the Christian Biblical Institute, Stanfordville, New York, a graduate of the first Antioch class in 1857.

The following account of "Antioch in the Time of Horace Mann" by George L. Cary, president of Meadville Theological School and a member of the Antioch faculty during the last three years of Horace Mann's presidency, is taken from the souvenir booklet issued by the College [19: 6-9]:

*Antioch in the Time of Horace Mann*

By GEORGE L. CARY, President

Meadville, Pennsylvania, Theological School

In one sense a college begins its career when it first opens its doors for the admission of students, but to onlookers it is

little more than a college in the making until it has sent out into the world its first graduates, whose accomplishments bear witness to the kind of work which the institution is fitted to do. I was not a witness of the gathering together of the raw material out of which the first Antioch classes were largely formed, but fortunately there are a few men and women still among us who can speak of those earliest days from personal knowledge. My own connection with the institution dates from the early part of the academic year in which it first had a senior class, that is from the autumn of 1856, and it is of some of the elements of its life during the six years preceding the suspension of the college in 1862—*quaeque ipse vidi, et quorum pars fui*—that I propose to write briefly.

College coeducation in those days was still a novelty. Oberlin, almost if not quite alone of American colleges, had already opened its doors to women as well as men and to white and black alike. It was announced from the beginning that the policy of Antioch would be no less inclusive. It might have been expected that Horace Mann, the staunch defender of human liberty on the floor of the national Congress and wherever else opportunity offered, would brook no discrimination of race in an institution presided over by him, but one could hardly have anticipated so hearty a welcome on his part to the doctrine of the equal intellectual rights of women, considering that in his own New England a college-trained woman had never yet been heard of. Antioch even bettered the example of Oberlin, for whereas the latter had a modified course of study for women, supposed to be better suited to feminine needs and the ordinary feminine capacity, the younger institution offered one curriculum to all. In the light of the experience of the last forty years it need hardly

be said that the women who responded to this welcome needed to have no concessions made to their imagined intellectual inferiority.

Another respect in which it was the determination of Mr. Mann that Antioch should be favorably distinguished from other colleges, was its stronger insistence upon the possession of an irreproachable moral character by its students as an indispensable condition of graduation. Not that American colleges in general altogether ignored this qualification; but as a rule it was only open and flagrant vice of which college faculties took note in those days. That a man should be in danger of losing a college diploma because he was known to be somewhat addicted to profane swearing, was a thing probably never before heard of. The most striking characteristic of Mr. Mann's nature was his ethical passion. To whatever seemed to him to be duty, he gave the unstinted service of all the powers of a mind of unusual vigor if not of the greatest philosophical depth. To feel that a thing was right, either for himself or others, was a challenge to its performance, or to its earnest defence if nothing more was possible, which he never allowed to go unheeded. So keen was his scent for unethical forms of procedure that some features of his code of morals seemed to ordinary mortals almost if not quite fanatical. He willingly shared with me the expense of the exclusive control of a bowling alley for the summer of 1857, in our vacation retreat on the island of Mackinaw, *for exercise only*; no game was to be played which should test the comparative skill of the players, for that would be to arouse a spirit of competition and to encourage an uncommendable strife for victory; each one was simply to exercise his muscles without any reference to what the muscles of the other were accomplishing. If this mental attitude seems to anyone sense-

less and even ridiculous, let him remember that it was the outcome, however strained, of that truly ethical sentiment which condemns the effort of one human being to overpower or get the advantage of another. But an example of this thorough-going conscientiousness upon a higher plane is not wanting. Nothing in matters pertaining to education seemed to him more to stand in need of amendment than the ordinary relations subsisting between teacher and pupil. The notion, whether native or English-born it matters not, that the schoolmaster and his scholars are by nature mutual enemies, and the kindred notion derived from this, that scholars should band together against the common enemy and endeavor to shelter from merited discipline all offenders against law, were both supremely hateful to him. At Antioch he set himself to eradicate all traces of this most irrational temper. His first and most practical effort in this direction was to win the members of the upper classes not only to a recognition of the soundness of his views, but also to a hearty willingness to undertake to make them prevail among the students as a recognized ethical standard. It is not to be supposed that all traces of the old leaven could be at once removed, especially in an institution whose preparatory department was largely made up of a constantly fluctuating element; but the first graduating classes did to a marked extent contribute to the good order and discipline of the college by openly placing themselves on record as aiders and not opponents of the constituted authorities in their efforts for the promotion of the best welfare of the whole college community. When, upon the death of Mr. Mann and the accession of the Reverend Thomas Hill to the presidency, Dr. Bellows remarked to the new president that there were some peculiar notions of his predecessor with regard to college management with

which he doubtless would have no sympathy—referring to the views just now spoken of—the reply came very promptly that no educational opinions of Mr. Mann commended themselves to him more completely than these.

Since Mr. Mann and the present writer had inherited from two of the older New England universities those traditions concerning the true ideal of collegiate education whose glory had not in those days been questioned, it was natural that our conferences upon college matters should be exceptionally frequent. Without distinctly and by name setting before us Harvard and Brown as examples for imitation, doubtless our more intimate acquaintance with the methods of these two institutions had its marked influence in determining the recommendations which we made to the faculty concerning scholastic requirements and especially the demands to be made upon those who would win the honors of the institution. Not to institute comparisons in any direction, it may be said without risk of contradiction that from the very outset, few of the older colleges of the country did better work and secured better results, making due allowance for the difficulties attendant upon a new undertaking, than the then western but now central college over which Horace Mann was so fortunately called to preside—fortunately, though it cost him years of anxious toil and a shortened life—for the blood of the martyrs is the seed not of the church alone, but of every enterprise which looks to the molding of men into the image of God.

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## Horace Mann in the Hall of Fame, 1900 and 1930

A lasting record of Horace Mann's service to mankind is found in the Hall of Fame for Great Americans, established in 1900 by New York University. Horace Mann was among the twenty-nine candidates elected for admission the first year. On a memorial tablet is engraved his immortal statement:

"The Common School is the greatest discovery ever made by man. It is supereminent in its universality and in the timelessness of the aid it proffers. . . . The Common School can train up children in the elements of all good knowledge and virtue."

The story of the Hall of Fame is told in *The Journal of the National Education Association* for November 1935 which gives a portrait and brief biography of each of the famous Americans in the Hall of Fame [151: 249-56]:

"Early in 1900 New York University announced a gift for the building of a colonnade at the University, on University Heights, overlooking the Palisades and the Hudson and Harlem River Valleys, to serve as a Hall of Fame for Great Americans. There are 160 panels provided for memorial bronze tablets. By the year 2000 the inscriptions will be complete. Every five years the University invites all citizens to send names worthy to be inscribed in the Hall of Fame. Each name that is seconded by any member of the University Senate is submitted to a College of Electors consisting of one hundred or more persons of distinction throughout the country. No name is inscribed unless approved by a majority of the electors. No name may be inscribed except that of a person who has been deceased for twenty-five years."

Seventy-two leaders have now been elected including the following educators: Horace Mann, Mary Lyon, Emma Willard, Mark Hopkins, and Alice Freeman Palmer. Complete information about the Hall of Fame with biographical notes and quotations is given in a book entitled *Your Hall of Fame* by Robert Underwood Johnson, published in 1935 by New York University.

The bust of Horace Mann which was unveiled in 1900 was not considered satisfactory. In 1930 funds for a more suitable bust were provided by the Horace Mann Schools of New York City and by the Horace Mann League of the United States of America Incorporated, an organization whose members are dedicated to the perpetuation of Horace Mann's ideals of universal free public education. On May 8, 1930, the bust (pictured in the Frontispiece) by the sculptor, Adolph A. Weinman, was unveiled at the Hall of Fame by Horace Mann, grandson of the educator, and by his daughter Katherine. William John Cooper, United States commissioner of education, ended his brief address of tribute thus:

"In placing in this shrine a likeness of our great educational statesman, we would pass on to those who come after us a sense of our obligations to society so well-phrased in his own parting words, 'Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity.'"

## Dedication of the Statue at the Headquarters of the National Education Association, 1928

An object of interest to all who visit the headquarters of the National Education Association in Washington, D. C., is the bronze statue of Horace Mann, pioneer in the education of teachers. It is a full-sized replica of the Emma Stebbins' statue at Boston and at Antioch College (pictured on page 85). The statue stands in the central hall of the headquarters building.

The dedication [124: 25] of the statue took place December 3, 1928. The occasion was made especially significant by the presence of the secretaries or representatives of 39 affiliated state education associations. Dr. Walter R. Siders, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Education Association and field representative of the World Federation of Education Associations, presented the statue, which was a gift from P. P. Caproni Brothers of Boston. President Uel W. Lamkin accepted the statue for the Association; a brief tribute to the part played by Horace Mann in the pioneer days of teacher organization in America was given by the editor of *The Journal of the National Education Association*, who said in part:

"It is fitting that this stately statue of Horace Mann should be presented in this place and at this time. Were Horace Mann alive today he would be one of the leaders of the National Education Association. It is working for the things he stood for. This beautiful building would delight his heart. It is good that these secretaries of our great state associations can join the members of the headquarters staff of the National Education Association in this ceremony of presentation and acceptance. They too are pioneers. Horace Mann laid

foundations. They are helping to build upon those foundations.

"During an unusually active life Horace Mann worked with voice and pen for the great ideals that we today hold dear—for good schools for all, for laws restraining selfish interests from the exploitation of children in mill and factory, for the training of teachers, for asylums for the insane, for the teaching of health in the schools, for public appreciation of the teacher and of teaching.

"Much that Horace Mann hoped for is yet to be achieved. There is still the call for pioneers. This age, like his, is an epoch of change and growth. The schools face the task of adapting themselves more closely to the life around them. The ugly specter of child labor is still among us. Many pupils are still taught failure in the school. Hundreds of thousands leave school before they are fitted for life's duties. It is for us, therefore, to carry on the great work to which Horace Mann gave his life. It is for us to take new inspiration from this noble character and to dedicate ourselves anew to the ideals for which he stood. We who are privileged to work in this headquarters building may look daily upon this fine face with a new sense of the significance of our task."

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## Monument Erected at Horace Mann's Birthplace, 1929

Horace Mann was born on a small farm just outside the town of Franklin, Massachusetts. In 1893 a new highschool building in Franklin was named in honor of Horace Mann and stood as a memorial to him until 1930 when it was replaced by an elementary school which also bears his name.

In 1929 the Franklin Grange, headed by Matthew J. VanLeeuwen and assisted by the local Business Men's Association and citizens, erected a monument [picture on page 39] on the Mann farm adjacent to the homestead site. Need for the memorial was suggested several years before by the visit of a delegation of Brazilian educators who came to Franklin expressly to see the place where the great American educator was born.

Of the dedication which took place on May 4, 1929, the 133rd anniversary of Horace Mann's birth, Albert T. Patty, principal of the Franklin High School, writes [153:5-7]: "The dedication was an event of much prominence in the town of his birth. School children, with their bands, and many citizens formed in line of march and proceeded from the center of the town to 'Mann's Plains' where exercises were held. Prominent men from the State Department of Education as well as local citizens spoke appropriately. The principal address was delivered by Senator David I. Walsh. This occasion has aided locally in keeping alive the memory of this great citizen, for since that time, May 4th, his birthday, has been observed in the public schools of the town by appropriate ceremony."

The following account [167:10] of the dedication was written by Matthew VanLeeuwen, a Franklin business man

who has long been interested in Horace Mann:

"The day anxiously anticipated by many, though cold and windy, did not prevent legions of warmhearted folks from attending the exercises and taking part in the dedication and unveiling as set forth in the following program:

- (1) Selection by Franklin High School band.
- (2) Introduction of chairman of exercises by Matthew J. VanLeeuwen.
- (3) Remarks by Professor Arthur W. Peirce, chairman.
- (4) Invocation by Reverend Reignold K. Marvin, D.D.
- (5) Greeting of Town of Franklin by Edward S. Cook, First Selectman.
- (6) Unveiling of monument by Katherine and Barbara Mann, great granddaughters of Horace Mann.
- (7) Singing by school children of grades 5 and 6.
- (8) Address by United States Senator David I. Walsh.
- (9) Selection by band.
- (10) Address by Frank W. Wright, Deputy Commissioner of Education.
- (11) Singing by junior highschool pupils.
- (12) Remarks by A. E. Winship.
- (13) Placing of floral wreath on monument by Franklin Grange.
- (14) Singing of *Star Spangled Banner*.

"An issue of 2000 souvenir programs, containing a brief biography of Horace Mann and carrying a picture of the monument were put in circulation in the schools and churches, as well as on the grounds during the exercises."

Senator David I. Walsh concluded his address of tribute to Horace Mann by pointing out that "As long as our civilization lasts his name will be symbolic of the public schools."  
[168:994]

## Centennial of the Massachusetts Secretaryship, 1936-37-38

In recognition of the fundamental contribution which Horace Mann made to the establishment and development of the American system of free schools, the National Education Association voted at its meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1929, that the Association should sponsor the Horace Mann Centennial in 1937. The purpose of the celebration has been to renew in this generation the ideals of free and universal public education as the foundation of democracy to which Horace Mann gave his life.

The Centennial has met with enthusiastic response from laymen in every walk of life and from educators in every branch of the profession. The observance opened with the Horace Mann Conference and dedication of the statue at Antioch College [145:269-76] on October 16 and 17, 1936; and came to its climax during American Education Week, November 7-13, 1937. The scope of the Centennial is suggested in references 18, 20, 28, 47, 64, 76, and 77.

The report of the Committee on the Horace Mann Centennial, presented to the National Education Association convention at New York City, June 30, 1938, follows. Payson Smith (portrait on page 21), former commissioner of education in Massachusetts, served as chairman of the Committee throughout the Centennial. Following the presentation of the Report, Joseph H. Saunders, chairman of the NEA Board of Trustees, moved that the Report be adopted and that the Representative Assembly extend its hearty thanks to the Committee for its outstanding services. The motion was unanimously adopted.

*Report of the Committee on the Horace Mann Centennial*

The Horace Mann Centennial sponsored by the National Education Association draws to its close. This national observance covering the two school years 1936-37 and 1937-38 has increased public appreciation of the importance of education in the nation's life at a time when such recognition is greatly needed. It is appropriate in this final report briefly to record the history of the Centennial and its achievements.

*The Centennial in brief*—In 1929 the Atlanta convention took the initiative in the following resolution:

"Resolved that the National Education Association approves the plan to hold a centennial Horace Mann celebration in 1937; that it calls the attention of all state and national educational and welfare associations to the importance and value of such a celebration . . . and recommends that state and national associations look ahead to build their programs around the theme, 'The Educational Achievements of a Century.'" The 1930 resolutions reaffirmed the plan and also recommended that "in the naming of schools, consideration be given the pioneer advocate of the common schools—Horace Mann."

*The national committee*—In 1935 the Association appointed a special committee on the Horace Mann Centennial with representatives from each of the 48 states, which has served with few changes throughout the Centennial period. Many states, cities, and civic and professional groups have appointed special committees to conduct the Centennial for them.

*Convention reports*—The first report of the Committee in June 1936 to the Portland convention outlined plans for the Centennial including the Calendar of Events. It was published in *The Journal of the National Education Association* for September 1936 [161: 183] and also in the *NEA Proceedings*

[76:865-67]. Upon presentation of the second report [125:183 and 77:858-60] at the Detroit convention in 1937, the following resolutions were adopted:

"HORACE MANN CENTENNIAL—The National Education Association heartily commends the Horace Mann Centennial Committee for its effective work. In view of the distinguished service of Horace Mann to democracy, the Association requests the United States Post Office Department to issue a special stamp in commemoration of the Centennial.

"HONORING EDUCATIONAL LEADERS—In view of the values resulting from the Horace Mann Centennial nationally, and in the belief that localities, states, and groups of states have an added opportunity to further the cause of their schools by honoring their educational pioneers, the National Education Association recommends the commemoration of the lives of such educational leaders. As a notable example of this policy, attention is called to the General Beadle Centennial Celebration now in progress in the northwest states."

As this report is written there is prospect that a Horace Mann stamp will be included in a special series on noted Americans which is announced by the Post Office Department for the near future.

*Administration of the Centennial*—Since the Centennial happened to fall at a time when Association income was being stretched to the limit to meet the needs of the depression, funds for the observance were limited. The situation was met by placing the administration of the Centennial in the hands of the Division of Publications of the National Education Association, where the work was carried on by members of the regular staff along with their other duties. The need for publications was met by the cooperation of the National Home Library Association, Washington, D. C.; a

gift of \$3000 for a publishing fund from the Committee on the Ninetieth Anniversary of the Central Synagogue of New York City; and a special gift from Hugh T. Birch, who knew Horace Mann personally, to publish *Go Forth and Teach*.

*The Centennial Calendar*—As announced in the September 1936 *NEA Journal* [161: 183], the Calendar included:

October 16-17, 1936—Opening of the Centennial at the Horace Mann Conference, Antioch College, Ohio, of which Mann was the first president. A feature of the Conference was the dedication of the Horace Mann statue, given by Hugh T. Birch.

November 9-15, 1936—Addresses and announcements during American Education Week.

February 20-25, 1937—Special events at the convention of the American Association of School Administrators.

May 4, 1937—Observance of Horace Mann's birthday in all schools and communities throughout the nation.

May to June 1937—Emphasis on Horace Mann's life and service in school and college commencements.

June 27-July 1, 1937—Special events at the Detroit convention of the National Education Association.

June to August 1937—Observance of the Centennial in summer schools.

November 7-13, 1937—Climax of the Centennial during American Education Week, including many special events on November 9, set aside as "Horace Mann Day."

It would be impossible to mention all the local events which have taken place in thousands of communities and schools throughout the nation. The commencement programs and birthday observances in the schools have been particu-

larly effective. Hundreds of addresses have been given including a speech in the United States Congress by John W. McCormack of Massachusetts. Radio programs, including several in the National Education Association series, and hundreds of articles in educational and lay press, have carried the story of the public-school movement in America to the people. Portraits, school posters, and memorial plaques have been made available, including the Lorado Taft Memorial Relief (pictured on page 100) which is reproduced on the cover of the November 1937 *NEA Journal*.

*The publishing program*—The publishing program of the Centennial has created a wealth of material by and about Horace Mann. With the publication of *Go Forth and Teach*, the latest book to be made available by the Committee, more than 3000 pages in 15 books have been printed by the Committee and other groups. With virtually nothing in print when the Centennial began, there is now the following material from which schools, libraries, and individual students may build up their collections. The items starred are available from the Horace Mann Centennial Fund of the National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

\* (1) *Life of Horace Mann by His Wife*. Centennial Committee, 1937. \$1. Facsimile edition of a 609-page biography.

\* (2) *Horace Mann: His Ideas and Ideals* by Joy Elmer Morgan. Centennial Committee, 1937. 150p. 25¢ plus 5¢ postage.

\* (3) *Chautauqua Textbook Number 14 on Horace Mann* by Wm. F. Phelps. Centennial Committee, 1937. 64p. 15¢. Facsimile reprint of a compact study outline.

\* (4) *Go Forth and Teach*, Horace Mann's famous Fourth of July Oration and other materials on his life. Centennial Committee, 1937. 148p. illus. 50¢ cloth. "An educational classic."

\* (5) *Letter to School Children* by Horace Mann. Centennial Committee, 1937. 16-page leaflet for children and parents. 25 copies, 50¢, 75¢ for 50, \$1 for 100.

\* (6) *Horace Mann Birthday Packet*, available on March 1 of each year from the NEA Division of Publications, price 50¢. Contains material for observing May 4 in the schools.

\* (7) *Dramatic Episodes in the Life of Horace Mann* by Eleanor Fishburn and Mildred Sandison. Centennial Committee, 1937. Mimeo. 25¢. Short plays for elementary schools, highschoools, and teachers colleges.

\* (8) *Those Who Bear the Torch*, a pageant on the story of education by the Horace Mann Schools of New York City. Centennial Committee, 1937. 160p. illus. Cloth \$1, paper 50¢. Includes musical score and directions for staging.

(9) *Testament of Faith*, a Horace Mann play by the Antioch College Faculty. New York, Dramatists Play Service, 6 E. 39th St., 1937. 100p. 75¢, royalty fee \$10. Presented at Antioch Conference and at NEA Detroit convention.

(10) *Horace Mann, Educational Statesman* by E. I. F. Williams. New York, Macmillan, 1937. 365p. \$2.

(11) *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States* by B. A. Hinsdale. New York, Scribner's, 1937. 362p. \$2. Centennial reprint of a wellknown biography.

(12) *Educating for Democracy*, Proceedings of the Antioch Centennial Conference. Yellow Springs, Ohio, Antioch Press, 1937. 148p. \$1.

(13) *Horace Mann and Our Schools* by Payson Smith, A. E. Winship, and Wm. T. Harris. New York, American Book Co. 1937. 100p. \$1. Three inspiring essays.

(14) *The Horace Mann Centennial*. Boston, Massachusetts Department of Education, 1937. 202p. Contains plays, poems, school programs honoring Horace Mann.

(15) *Selective and Critical Bibliography of Horace Mann*. Boston, Massachusetts Department of Education, 1937. 54p. Free.

*Achievements of the Centennial*—The Centennial years have given us a body of material and experience with which to carry forward the interpretation of public-school needs and aims to the people. The enduring quality of the Centennial may be found in the following projects:

First, the practice of paying tribute to outstanding educators has resulted in state and local observances of significant proportions, such as the Beadle centennial and the Henry Barnard observance. The technic of conducting such observances is now available to other communities who wish to recognize the part played by educational leaders in building the nation.

Second, the Centennial has given us the material for a continuing study of Horace Mann and other educational figures. The National Education Association is now the chief source of material on Horace Mann. Before the stock of materials is exhausted, school and public libraries may well complete their collections.

Third, the observance of Horace Mann's birthday on May 4 has become a regular feature of the school calendar in many communities. His birthday might well be made a national holiday along with those of Washington and Lincoln.

Fourth, "Future Teachers of America," an outgrowth of the work of the Centennial Committee, is an organization for highschool and college students. It aims to bring together young people who wish to develop the finest personalities and to find out through study whether they wish to make teaching their career. The aim is not to increase the number of teachers, but to encourage only those to enter who in aptitude and character offer the best promise of becoming worthy teachers.

Fifth, Horace Mann's name has been perpetuated in many communities which have added new schools to the growing list of such institutions named for him.

Sixth, the curriculum has been greatly enriched by the addition of material not only by and about Horace Mann, but also about schools and education, thus helping young people to gain an appreciation of the institution which does most to make their lives happy and successful. Through the teaching of biography, young people are inspired to devote their lives to the upbuilding of the country.

Seventh, impetus has been given to the observance of outstanding events in educational history, such as the centennial of the normal schools in 1939. Such observances are a fruitful means of re-evaluating educational purposes and ideals.

The celebration having been concluded, the Committee asks to be discharged and extends its gratitude to educators and citizens who have cooperated to make this one of the greatest educational celebrations in the history of the country.—Committee on the Horace Mann Centennial, as listed in the Official Manual for Delegates to the 76th Convention, National Education Association, New York City, June 1938:

Smith, Payson, Chairman; Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Morgan, Joy Elmer, Secretary; Editor, Journal of the National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

Ade, Lester K., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Harrisburg, Pa.

Atwood, Stanley F., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Olympia, Wash.

Bailey, Francis L., State Commissioner of Education, Montpelier, Vt.

Ballou, Frank W., Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C.

Bass, W. A., Superintendent of Schools, Nashville, Tenn.

Butterfield, Ernest W., Commissioner of Education, Hartford, Conn.

Callahan, John, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Madison, Wis.

Collins, M. D., Superintendent of Schools, Atlanta, Ga.

- Condie, John W., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Boise, Idaho
- Cook, Paul M., Secretary, Phi Delta Kappa, 1180 East Sixty-third St., Chicago, Ill.
- Crable, A. L., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oklahoma City, Okla.
- Dexter, Walter F., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Sacramento, Calif.
- Dietrich, E. N., State Director of Education, Columbus, Ohio
- Eldred, Arvie, Secretary, New York State Teachers Association, Albany, N. Y.
- Elliott, Charles H., Commissioner of Education, Trenton, N. J.
- Elliott, Eugene B., Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lansing, Mich.
- English, Colin, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Tallahassee, Fla.
- Erwin, Clyde A., Superintendent of Public Instruction, Raleigh, N. C.
- Graham, Ben G., Superintendent of Schools, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Graves, Frank Pierrepont, Commissioner of Education, Albany, N. Y.
- Hall, Sidney, B., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Richmond, Va.
- Harris, T. H., State Superintendent of Public Education, Baton Rouge, La.
- Henderson, A. D., President, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio
- Hendrix, H. E., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Phoenix, Ariz.
- Hines, J. F., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Pierre, S. Dak.
- Holloway, H. V., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dover, Del.
- Hope, James H., State Superintendent of Education, Columbia, S. C.
- Howard, C. A., President, Eastern Oregon Normal School, La Grande, Ore.
- Karnes, Anthony E., Commissioner of Education, Juneau, Alaska
- Keller, J. A., Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- King, Lloyd W., State Superintendent of Public Schools, Jefferson City, Mo.
- Kirn, G. W., Principal, Abraham Lincoln High School, Council Bluffs, Iowa
- Lewis, Mrs. Inez Johnson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Denver, Colo.
- Long, Oren E., Superintendent of Public Instruction, Honolulu, T. H.
- McMurray, Floyd I., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Indianapolis, Ind.

- Markham, W. T., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Topeka, Kans.
- Mitchell, J. C., Director of Secondary Education, State Department of Public Instruction, Lincoln, Nebr.
- Nixon, Hugh, Secretary, Massachusetts Teachers Federation, 15 Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass.
- Outsen, Robert R., Deputy State Superintendent, State Department of Education, Cheyenne, Wyo.
- Packard, Bertram E., State Commissioner of Education, Augusta, Maine
- Pearse, Carroll G., 1721 Ludington Ave., Wauwatosa Branch, Milwaukee, Wis.
- Peters, Harry W., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Frankfort, Ky.
- Phipps, W. E., Park Hill, North Little Rock, Ark.
- Pringle, James N., State Commissioner of Education, Concord, N. H.
- Putnam, Rex, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Salem, Ore.
- Reardon, Ruth, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Helena, Mont.
- Rockett, James F., Director of Education, Providence, R. I.
- Rockwell, John Gundersen, Commissioner of Education, St. Paul, Minn.
- Rodgers, H. R., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Santa Fe, N. Mex.
- Samuelson, Agnes, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Des Moines, Iowa
- Skidmore, Charles H., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Salt Lake City, Utah
- Smith, Chauncey W., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Carson City, Nev.
- Taylor, Charles W., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lincoln, Nebr.
- Thompson, A. E., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Bismarck, N. Dak.
- Trent, W. W., State Superintendent of Free Schools, Charleston, W. Va.
- Vandiver, J. S., State Superintendent of Education, Jackson, Miss.
- Wieland, John A., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield, Ill.
- Williams, E. I. F., Director of Education, Heidelberg College, Tiffin, Ohio
- Woods, L. A., State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Austin, Texas

## Horace Mann Schools of America

Of all the tributes to Horace Mann, none would be more pleasing to him, nor more fitting to his great work as father of the American public school, than the naming of schools in his honor. Today wherever the common school opens doors of opportunity, his name is held in grateful remembrance.

The following list gives the location of Horace Mann schools about which information is on file in the Washington office of the National Education Association at this time. Unless otherwise indicated these are elementary schools. The author will appreciate being notified of any additional schools named for Horace Mann.

### *Arizona*

Bisbee (junior high)

### *California*

Anaheim

Beverly Hills

Compton

Glendale

Long Beach

Los Angeles (junior high)

Oakland

Pasadena (junior college)

San Diego (junior high)

San Francisco (junior high)

San Jose

Fresno County

Plumas County

### *District of Columbia*

### *Colorado*

Denver (junior high)

### *Illinois*

Chicago

Winnetka

### *Indiana*

Crawfordsville

Gary

Huntington

Marion

### *Iowa*

Iowa City

### *Kansas*

Kansas City

Pittsburg

Wichita

### *Massachusetts*

Amesbury

Boston (School for the Deaf)

Everett

Franklin

*Massachusetts—Continued*

Newtonville  
 Bridgewater (Horace Mann  
 Auditorium, State Teachers  
 College)  
 Framingham (Horace Mann  
 Dormitory, State Teachers  
 College)

*Michigan*

Detroit

*Minnesota*

Minneapolis  
 Virginia

*Missouri*

Kansas City  
 Maryville (Horace Mann  
 Laboratory School, North-  
 west Missouri State Teachers  
 College)  
 St. Louis  
 Sedalia

*New Jersey*

Bayonne

*New York*

New York City (Horace  
 Mann Schools of Teachers  
 College, Columbia University)  
 Long Island  
 Rochester  
 Schenectady

*North Dakota*

Fargo

*Ohio*

Canton  
 Cincinnati  
 East Liverpool  
 Lakewood (junior high)  
 Lima  
 Yellow Springs (Horace  
 Mann Library, Antioch  
 College)

*Oklahoma*

Oklahoma City  
 Shawnee  
 Tulsa (junior high)

*Pennsylvania*

Chester (Dewey-Mann  
 School)  
 Pittsburgh  
 Scranton

*Texas*

San Antonio (junior high)

*Utah*

Salt Lake City (highschool)

*Washington*

Seattle  
 Spokane  
 Tacoma

*West Virginia*

South Charleston

*Wisconsin*

Sheboygan  
 West Allis (junior high)

## Part X

### APPENDIX AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

POUR OUT LIGHT *and truth, as God pours sunshine and rain. No longer seek knowledge as the luxury of a few, but dispense it amongst all as the bread of life. Learn only how the ignorant may learn; how the innocent may be preserved; the vicious reclaimed. Collect whatever of talent, or erudition, or eloquence, or authority, the broad land can supply, and go forth, and teach this people. For, in the name of the living God, it must be proclaimed that licentiousness shall be the liberty; and violence and chicanery shall be the law; and superstition and craft shall be the religion; and the selfdestructive indulgence of all sensual and unhallowed passions shall be the only happiness of that people who neglect the education of their children.*—HORACE MANN, 28: 106-07.

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## APPENDIX A

### Note on the 1857 Baccalaureate Address by Horace Mann

The following "Editors' Note" on the 1857 Baccalaureate Address delivered at Antioch College by Horace Mann [see pages 319-60], is taken from the 1891 edition of the *Life and Works of Horace Mann* edited by George C. Mann and Mary Mann [57, Vol. 5: 499] from which the Address is reprinted:

"The new views expressed in the Baccalaureate Address, in regard to the moral character and standing essential and preliminary to obtaining a degree at Antioch College, and the discipline of the College predicated upon these views, seemed to render it proper so far to change the common form used in conferring degrees as to express the change in the conditions on which they can be obtained. For the impression, therefore, to be made on our present students, and for the information of those who may hereafter resort to the College for an education, the form in which the degrees were conferred at the first commencement is given, the additional clause being indicated by italics:

"'By virtue of the authority confided in me by the Charter of Antioch College, and in consideration of the proficiency you have made in the liberal arts and sciences; *in further consideration also of the reputable character you have here maintained and the exemplary life you have here led*, I hereby admit you to all the honors and prerogatives of the First Academical Degree.

"'In testimony of which I bestow upon you this Diploma, sealed with the College seal and authenticated by the signatures of its proper officers; and may you so comport yourselves on the great mission of life on which you are now about to enter, that you may be ornaments to your country, blessings to mankind, and faithful servants of Almighty God.'"

## APPENDIX B

### Baccalaureate Address at Antioch

DELIVERED BY HORACE MANN, JUNE 30, 1858

*The 1858 Baccalaureate Address was discovered just as this book was going to press, by Robert L. Straker, graduate of Antioch College, among the unpublished papers of Horace Mann in the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. The address has never before appeared in print and is here published from the original manuscript written by Horace Mann.*

THE DAY SO LONG ANTICIPATED BY YOU—in one mood of mind longed for, in another dreaded; with contending emotions now hoped for and now feared—at length is here. You are here to see the last sands of your college life run from the glass of time. What is far more and better, my young friends, you are honorably here. A year ago, in this place, I announced to the then graduating class that no vicious or profligate person should ever receive a diploma at my hands. The rudiments of education are for all youth. We do not know but their evil may become good. We do not know, although it is strongly improbable, but their good may become evil. Like the tares and the wheat, therefore, they must grow together. But when the time comes for transplanting our youth from the common schools and the preparatory schools to the college and the university, and especially when the period approaches for awarding testimonials of high literary honors and prerogatives, then every aspirant should be weighed in the balances of the sanctuary, and dignities fit only for the honorable and the virtuous should be everlastingly withheld from the mean and the profligate. The higher forms of education are for the exemplary and the faithful, to robe them and crown them with glory and joy. They are not for the lawless, to make them more potent for evil, to curse the public with calamity, and open to themselves a career whose goal will be ignominy and remorse. If your standing here on this occasion is any proof of intellectual

proficiency and attainment, it is stronger proof of your general habits and sobriety, exemplariness, and morality.

When I hear that a youth is learned, brilliant, all coruscating with the fires of genius, I am not yet ready to rejoice. I desire to know one thing more: What use will he make of his endowments? Should I be engaged in a contest with some fearful adversary for the natural life of me and mine; still more, were I waging battle for the moral life of me and mine, and suddenly, a splendid apparition should tread the scene whose majestic form and dazzling light should prophesy victory to whichever side he might espouse, I should not be ready to shout my hallelujahs to him until I should know which side he intended to espouse. I am too much of a utilitarian to derive pleasure even from radiance and prowess, if they belong to Lucifer. So the youth of our country ought to receive the prerogatives of a higher education, not at all as they belong to this or that religious sect or denomination, but wholly and exclusively as they give promise of becoming honorable and virtuous citizens.

I advert to this topic on this public occasion, and in the august presence of this multitude of witnesses, first, that you may have the conscious and precious reward of your general good behavior while members of our Institution; and second, that all youth everywhere who are emulous of the honors you this day receive, may know upon what terms, and upon what terms alone, those honors can be won.

With this special exordium, I pass to the general subject selected for the occasion. Whoever passes out of the years of receptiveness and of impulse and passes into those of discretion and reflection, finds himself holding relations to the universe around him—important as life itself, important as the soul itself.

Instinct prompts to a few movements necessary to life, but these are automatic, not intelligent. The infant soon overleaps the bounds of instinct; or if he remains within them, he is an idiot. Positive knowledge is necessary for every responsible function of life. This word "knowledge" is almost invariably used in the singular number. It ought to have been used in the plural, for, certainly, no other word comprehends so many or so opposite

particulars. On looking around, no reflection strikes us more forcibly than that the value of men's knowledge does not depend upon its amount but upon its kind. There is a kind of knowledge, how many garments were in the wardrobes of Lucullus, and how many nightingales' tongues were served at a feast of Africanus, and there is a kind of knowledge which would so enhance the productiveness of the earth and the rewards of honest labor as to give wardrobes and feasts to all the victims of nakedness and hunger. If we may credit the English traveler, Colonel Hamilton, there is a kind of knowledge deemed so vital and precious by British noblemen and gentlemen, that whoso is ignorant thereof must suffer social degradation—a knowledge in what fashion to eat a boiled egg—and that too in a country, five millions of whose population glean a fortuitous subsistence on the borders of the desert of pauperism, and never eat an unstolen egg in their lives; and in contrast with this, there is a kind of knowledge which lifts its possessor above the littleness of conventional life, and consecrates him to the service of mankind and the honor of God. There is the coxcombrity of knowledge—about cravat-ties and walking-sticks and pouncet-boxes; there is the diabolism of knowledge—how to distill the happiness out of a thousand human hearts to make one drop of sweetness for the palate, or one breath of incense for the nostrils; and, on the other hand, there is a kind of knowledge how to make the blind see and the deaf hear, to restore reason to the insane and to kindle gleams of intelligence and joy on the dark altar of an idiot's soul; how too, to seek out orphan children and children for whom it would be better if they were orphans—who in pestiferous dens of infamy, are daily baptised in iniquity, and to gather them together, in the language of the Savior as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and to kindle in their young hearts the holy and imperishable flame of virtue, and then to return them as citizens to the state, to build up the impregnable ramparts of honor and liberty. According to Themistocles, there is one kind of knowledge, how to play a fiddle, and another kind, how to turn a small city into a great one; or, as was said of Dr. Franklin when the low high-born of France leered at his plain dress and

un-Parisian manners—it is one thing to chatter and to dance, and another to guide the lightning of heaven and break the scepter of tyrants. There is a kind of knowledge how to train parrots and poodles and canary birds, and there is another kind, how once in every forty years to turn a generation of helpless, thoughtless children into a generation of glorious women and men.

In our day, the human mind ravens for knowledge of some kind. The Titan labors of the press can hardly supply its demands, the “yellow-covered” literature goes wherever the plague of the frogs went among the Egyptians “into thine house and into thy bedchamber and upon thy bed, and into the house of thy servants.” The constant demand for public lecturing (speeches) and the periodical demand for political declamation are immense. Printing is an institution; lecturing is an institution; “buncombe” is an institution.

When our youth go out into this world hoping to be a force among its forces, can they ask and answer any question more appropriate than this: What kinds of knowledge are best worth being known? What kinds are most promotive of utility, honor, and happiness?

Let us pause for a moment and see what sort of a world it is which the Deity has made our temporary home. Its phenomena are infinite. It is constantly pouring its qualities into the mind of man through each of his five senses. It not only offers to teach, but it makes him see and makes him feel what it is doing. And yet a man may behold all its visible aspects, become familiar with all its obtrusive phenomena, and still know nothing of the most important qualities of the world. It has deeper properties than our senses can understand. Every particle of the globe is part powder and part bullet, and ready to go off. All its substances are compacted of redundant and forth-springing life. They are winged with velocities, compared with which the swiftest animal speed is rest. They are potent in energies, within which our human strength is but a leaf in a whirlwind. They are capable of assuming a thousand forms for the benefit of mankind, and then they come back to their original state only to go round the same beneficent circuit again. Mulberry leaves become silk, iron is converted

into watch-springs, siliceous sand changes to glass. A forest turns to a navy. We look at clay-pits and granite quarries, and behold they are cities. A gallon of water rarifies into steam, speeds a hundred men on their journey, and condenses to a gallon of water again.

Theologians and schoolmen, indeed, have said that the earth is a mass of inert matter. But where, within its whole circumference, sleeps there an inert particle? I might appeal to its diurnal rotation upon its axis, and to its more stupendous movement through its annual orbit, "wheeling unshaken through the void immense," to prove that in its aggregate mass and bulk, it is not motionless. But, to examine it by parts:

First, there is the ever-active power of gravitation. All understand the amount of force necessary to raise a heavy body from the earth's surface and to uphold it. With a proportionate force of gravitation, has everything been drawn unceasingly downward towards the earth's center since the creation. And so of all bodies throughout all space. The power sufficient to lift the Alps or the Andes is only equal to the power with which gravitation holds them fast upon their bases. The laborer, the mechanic, avail themselves of this power to give efficiency to the blow of axe and sledge and bar, and with it the pile-driver forces into the earth those enormous timbers without which wharves and bridges and viaducts cannot be made. This power presses the upper upon the nether millstone, brings down alike the apple from the tree, the rain from the clouds, the avalanche from the mountain, and navigates the loosened iceberg from its arctic birthplace. It knows no vicissitudes of sleeping and waking. It asks no intermission or relief. It never lets go.

Again, there is the attraction of cohesion, a power distinct from the former. It is this which makes the oak strong, the metals tough and durable, the column stable, the diamond sparkling. This power compacts the quarries of marble and granite so that no human power could ever tear them asunder. When occasion requires, we overcome this cohesive force, not by our strength, but by enlisting in our service some other of the powers of nature. Cohesive and solid as the rocks are, yet a little invisible heat in-

fused into a little invisible air will lay open the densest mountains as we subdivide an orange. Drill a few holes in the solidest rock, drive in wedges of dry wood, pour water upon the wedges and such is the silent but vehement energy with which the wood sucks the water into its pores that a rock of a thousand tons is laid open like a nutshell. When the walls of a European cathedral had been pressed outward by the superincumbent weight of its dome and threatened to fall, a bar of iron was extended through the edifice from outside to outside, which being heated to expansion in the middle and then secured closely at the outside ends, drew, by its inherent, contractile force, the sides of the building into a perpendicular. Now, if iron be heated even to fusion, no microscope reveals any interstice between its particles. Yet each one of these minute particles of iron, while cooling and contracting, will draw more than a sailor tugging at his rope. Let this power of cohesion be but for one moment annihilated, and this roof and these walls, these seats and the floor which holds them, nay the earth itself with all that it contains, is a dust-heap and chaos. The old schoolmen who asserted the inertness of matter were themselves held together by the power whose existence they denied; and had their dogma been true, the very breath which uttered it would have turned them into a cloud of powder.

Do any regard the accompaniment of motion as more demonstrative of power, let them but open their eyes upon the varied operations of nature around them. You cannot kindle and extinguish a taper so quick, but that its rays will dart out and fill the circumference of a mile with light. Substances which the hottest fire cannot melt drop, like water, under an invisible stream of galvanism. Iron senses the approaching magnet and hastens impulsively to embrace it. The trembling needle points forever to the pole and will not be estranged from its fidelity. The tidal wave of the ocean moves swifter than a cannonball, and it heaves and subsides, like a mighty heart pulsating between the continents it nourishes. Day by day and year by year, all that vast volume of water which all the rivers empty into the sea is not equal to one-tenth part of the flood which, in the form of vapor, ascends from the surface of the globe into the upper regions of the air,

and there, high above the mountain tops, flows around seeking to diffuse itself equably over that shoreless sea, until condensed by the surrender of its heat, it descends in dew or showers or storms. Some of its particles find their way into the streams and hasten backward to their ocean home. Others wash down the hills or disintegrate the rocks for the formation of soils. Others drop upon the fertile mould, seize upon a particle of earth, enter with it into the root of a tree, climb up through its pores perhaps a hundred feet, hodman-like carrying up the aliment, mason-like depositing it upon the topmost bough, or finishing off some leaf or flower or fruit, are then exhaled and again fly away on their ceaseless round of duty.

The ever-moving winds cease not, day nor night, in their labors to equalize the temperature between the equator and the poles. The uncultivated earth in her vast solitudes, pours forth her myriad forms of vegetable life, and though there be no human eye to admire, adorns herself with myriad forms and colors of inimitable beauty. When the equable diffusion of electricity has been disturbed, it bursts in thunder the barriers of a nonconducting medium. Light descends from the sun with inconceivable velocity to fill the eye with gladness and the earth with teeming abundance—not descending monotonously from one stationary point, but from a moving orb whose rising and setting hours scatter tints of ethereal beauty or spread a gorgeous effulgence over sky-broad panoramas. The whole human race could not bear such burdens as the busy and tireless winds are constantly wafting from region to region around the globe. It is no exaggeration to say that the coal fields already discovered are capable of effecting more physical labor through the agency of steam, even if we make no advances upon our present skill in generating it, than could be performed by all the inhabitants of a thousand planets like ours. The cataract, the volcano, the whirlwind, the avalanche, the earthquake—these phenomena which bring to our mind the quickest thought of Omnipotence—these are only larger drops flying from the machinery of nature in its impetuous whirl.

And in the midst of this ever-rolling enginery we are placed. We do not find ourselves among the fragments of a decaying or

dislocated machine, but in the midst of a real and true Perpetual Motion, of exhaustless power, in fervid, vehement play, free from disrepair, coeval with time—its parts and adjustments equally adapted to the mightiest and the minutest of human needs. We are not stationed here upon the body of a dead earth, but upon one of super-gigantic organs and limbs, which, the moment we learn to touch them intelligently, will smooth our pathway over mountains, waft us from continent to continent, and transport our burdens or our thoughts around the globe. Such, such is the earth, over which God has said to us, "Have dominion." He commanded its mighty energies to be ministers of the mightier energy of the human soul. He commands them to stand forever ready to provide the universal race with physical comfort and competence, without that life-wasting toil which hitherto has suspended and still suspends all animation both intellectual and moral in such a vast majority of the human family. He created these amazing forces that they might ransom the angel faculties of the mind from their enslavement to the brutish propensities of the body. He commissioned these swift-winged velocities to give universal intercourse to men and thereby to lay the foundations of universal brotherhood.

It was this inherent, indwelling activity of matter that gave birth to polytheism. Pagans could not explain the vitality and saliency of nature only by attributing them to the volitions of a divinity within. They could conceive no other cause of the ever-renewing motions going on around them, or for the succession of forms forever bursting forth into being. The upwelling of fountains against their own gravity, the growth of uncultivated forests, the creations of spring, the ripening of harvests, these and similar phenomena were inexplicable to them, except on the faith of an indwelling god.

Now, on entering this world, so compacted of substances and forces, our starting-point is ignorance. None, however, but idiots remain at that point, and through human benevolence organized into action, hardly do they. All others, at least, make progress in some direction. There is an inexorable necessity for the human mind to form ideas, notions, opinions, respecting the objects and

the energies by which it is encompassed. Right or wrong, its impulses conform to its ideas, and urge it onward to glory or to shame. Would you see the result and grand total of that right or wrong, after fifty or seventy years, look at the sage or the philosopher, at the maniac or the felon; look at a nation blessed or cursed of heaven.

False knowledge respecting the objects and agencies around us, is not a negative quantity. False knowledge is as far from ignorance on one side, as true knowledge is on the other. The true lifts us upward; the false propels us downward. Every addition of true knowledge makes the soul of man more beautiful and majestic, more angelic and archangelic. Every addition of false knowledge makes the soul more deformed and monstrous. It is not enough to say that God has connected true knowledge with power and happiness, or that He has connected false knowledge with weakness and misery. But true knowledge, power, and happiness have been melted and fused into one compound and homogeneous mass, so that no man can take a portion of one of the ingredients without taking a corresponding proportion of the others. And so it is of false knowledge, weakness, and misery—inseparable as cold from ice or heat from furnace fires. No moral chemistry can dis sever them. Barbarians have false notions of astronomy. They cannot foretell nor explain a solar eclipse. When the disc of the moon first overlays that of the sun and its broad shadow sweeps across the earth, all along the line from Arctic to Antarctic, that shadow rolls as with a millstone's weight over the heart of every savage. He prostrates himself before his idols, he howls prayers, he casts his children into the fire. But from true astronomical knowledge, have flowed the higher truths of geography and geometry, the science of navigation, and the ten thousand blessings of commerce. For many centuries, the alchemists had a false belief that all the baser metals might be changed to gold, and whoever sought for more gold, according to their theory, lost what he had. True knowledge teaches us that divine wisdom by which opportunities can be transmuted into knowledge and knowledge into wisdom and virtue. The same alchemists sought for a universal medicine which was to

heal all diseases and make man immortal upon earth. Some gleams of physiological knowledge have lately been discovered, and already the average length of human life in Europe and in the United States is about one-third more than it was a century ago.

A false notion has prevailed and still prevails that men can be made *great* by means of primogeniture and heraldry, but the consequence has always been that the great men of heraldry have been the little men of history. But those who have contemned alike the greatness and meanness of ancestry and patrimony, and day by day have guided their lives by the dictates of true knowledge, have conferred grandeur and riches, not on a family only but on mankind. What can the poor herald do for Newton whose field of argent is the star-strewn area of the heavens; or for Franklin whose blazonry shineth from one part of the heavens into the other; or for Washington whose shield, look at it which side you will, obverse or reverse, is covered all over with the hieroglyphs of immortality.

But again, though one can name, at sight, all the materials of which the earth is composed, though he knows their localities and has witnessed the forthgoings of their spontaneous energies, as yet he knows nothing of the depth and vastness of their capabilities to promote the welfare of mankind. To him, as yet, the earth is only an unorganized, an unwieldy bulk, here dormant, there beautiful, there maniacal. He sees agencies of incomprehensible energy, but as yet, he is their victim and not their guide. As yet, he knows not how to open one conduit through which the powers of this infinite reservoir will gush forth at his call to do him service. The mere knowledge of substances and forces, however extensive, only supplies more abundant materials for superstition; not necessarily of wisdom or of power.

But within every substance and infixed in every motion of this terrestrial frame, there sits enthroned a Supreme Law. However silent in apparent death the solid parts of the earth may be, however tumultuous and insurgent the aroused elements may appear; still, an inward and steadfast law pervades and governs them, like an ever-present deity, and looses and binds them by unchanging rules. From the hyssop that groweth upon the wall

to the cedar of Lebanon; from a particle of dust or a particle of dew to continents and oceans; from a leaf floating on a stream to the earth wheeling in its orbit, or the whole solar system sweeping through immensity; each according to its nature, develops its qualities and puts forth its might in accordance with a sovereign and immutable law, which law is the will of God and bears forever with it all the benignity and all the terrors of that will.

Now it is a knowledge of these laws which constitutes the height and perfection of human wisdom in relation to material things. Whoever looks not beyond this ponderous bulk of earth and its seemingly irregular and mutinous activities into those divine laws, or rather, into that divine will which pervades and overwatches them with a sleepless intelligence, sees nothing but what is equally visible to the eye of the brutes; but whoso looks beyond that bulk and those seemingly insurrectionary forces into the laws which curb or compel them, has lifted the veil and beheld the interior mechanism of things and seen the secret springs by which the mysterious energies of nature leap into activity or subside into rest. God has made the earth a depository or a portion of His Omnipotence, and whoever understands the law by which it works, is no longer limited to the feebleness of a human aim. Thenceforth he adds that portion of Omnipotence to his own strength, and thus multiplies it a millionfold. God has, as it were, materialized in the earth a portion of His infinite wisdom and skill, and whoever apprehends that wisdom and skill can appropriate them to his own uses and thereby secure a beauty and perfection in his labors to which no merely human ingenuity could even approach. Whoso knows these laws of the earth can supply the conditions by which its forces can be evoked or suspended. He carries in his hand the plan by which nature works. He knows the preliminary process—what spring he is to touch, what lever he is to raise or depress—by which he can let on or shut off her most terrific forces.

It has been supposed that the ancients were ignorant of that law in hydraulics, by which water in tube or conduit will rise as high as the fountainhead, and hence they carried their stupendous aqueducts, horizontally, from hilltop to hilltop, upon lofty

arches, with an incredible expenditure of labor and money. A knowledge of that hydraulic law, now possessed by all, enables the poorest man of the present day to do what once demanded the wealth of an empire. The beautiful fragments of the old Roman aqueducts which have survived the shock of centuries are often cited to attest the grandeur and power of their builders. To me they are monuments, not of their power but of their weakness. One single idea—a knowledge of this most simple law, that water will rise as high as the fountain—is better, is greater than all those magnificent structures in the day of their newness and pride, and they survive only to immortalize and to proclaim to the world the value of this truth. When the ancient poets wished to describe to the world what a mighty and labor-performing giant Briareus was, they represented him as having a hundred arms; the Briareus of philosophy is a man with a hundred ideas.

Simply by a knowledge of the laws of light, we can measure the altitude of inaccessible objects; we can determine the position of any spot upon the earth's surface, in reference to any other spot, and thus the boundaries of empires are settled by science which otherwise would be settled by blood. By a knowledge of the same laws we prepare the telescope which reveals to us the infinite in one direction, and the microscope which displays it in the other; we repair imperfect or decaying vision in ourselves, and through the act of painting we gratify the eye with the enchantments of color, awaking such emotions of beauty as are almost kindred to love. For how many ages did the lightnings dart from the clouds consuming the habitations of men and filling the boldest hearts with consternation; while the iron which has sovereign power over its course, even in the moment of its swiftest velocity, slept in the valley beneath and by the side of its destructions. Those who knew not the sovereign law to which the lightning renders such swift obedience, looked on and trembled. At length, Franklin, the wise man, arose; he drew aside the veil; he discerned the law; he supplied the conditions of control, and now we may look with equal safety and serenity upon the feeble spark of an electrical machine, or upon the downward-pointing volcano of the skies.

For ages, thousands and tens of thousands beheld, every day, the vapor of boiling water as it floated visibly for a moment, before its reabsorption into the atmosphere. They saw the fact only; but philosophy and art discovered the interior law, and now, at our bidding, the might of that evanescent vapor causes the ship to cleave its "arrowy way" from port to port through the sea, or upon land; it takes up the burden of ten thousand men and speeds with it, from horizon to horizon, like the horses of the sun. The coal-mines of England are often filled with a combustible gas more explosive than gunpowder. They cannot be worked in darkness, and to carry down a light, under such circumstances, would be applying a torch to a magazine. Sir Humphry Davy, by a series of experiments of unrivaled beauty, at length discovered the law by which a gauze-like tissue or network of iron becomes so nearly a perfect nonconducting medium between the combustible and the flame as to prevent an explosion. In this network, a lighted lamp is enclosed and the miners go down to their subterranean home and work their lives long, while from floor to ceiling and all around to the far circumference the atmosphere is surcharged with quickest destruction. Nay, their lamps are gently yet safely fed by the combustible itself, an achievement which before the revelation of the law, would have seemed quite as wonderful as a plan to light city streets from magazines of gunpowder.

These are illustrations of the capabilities of nature—what she is now performing for us, what she has *always* stood ready to perform for mankind since the creation. In effective, productive power, compare an Oriental despot who receives the homage and the incense of a god from fifty millions of slaves, with the effective, productive power of the owner of a railroad locomotive or a steamship, or of a cotton or woolen or nail factory, or of a paper mill, or of a mill for cutting iron as though it were paper. The men of Babylon, of Thebes, of Byzantium, of Rome, or our contemporaries, the Chinese, the Hottentots, the New Zealanders, had and have as many limbs and organs, as many senses and muscles as Arkwright or Fulton or Whitney. They could run as fast, leap as far, lift as much. Nature presents the same variety of

objects to all, and the power and precision of her motive forces are unchangeable. Here is the difference: the one class neglected or opposed nature, through ignorance; the other invests itself with her immense energies and her perfect skill, through a knowledge of her laws. No Ptolemy that ever sat upon an Egyptian throne, with his millions of slaves, could prepare so much timber for architectural purposes as is prepared by one river in the state of Maine. Alexander, called the Great because he was a great monster, could kill men—the easiest of all things—but on the day when he wept for other worlds to conquer, he could not, with all his subject nations, do so much for the comfort or the sustenance of mankind, as is done every day at the flour mills of Rochester or the cotton mills of Lowell. It is a beautiful characteristic, too, of these properties of nature that they are equally adapted to perform the vastest or the most delicate operations—to turn a water-wheel loaded with a hundred tons or guide a thread of gossamer or gold through the embroidered tissues of the loom; to rend a rock or point a needle; to propel a man of war or wave the pennon that floats gracefully over it.

When Lord Bacon uttered that often quoted and often misunderstood axiom, "Knowledge is power", he meant a knowledge of these laws of nature and the conditions they observe. He did not mean a knowledge that in the Greek language the earth is called "*Ge*"; in Latin "*Tellus*"; in German "*Erde*"; in French "*La Terre*"; and in Italian "*Terra*"; but he meant a knowledge of the divinely-ordained energies and skill, residing in the earth itself, and only awaiting the performance of the true conditions to be transmuted into human elevation and blessedness. He did not mean a knowledge of court intrigues and battles and coronations; he did not mean a knowledge of all the infinite nonsense of ancient theogonies and cosmogonies; but he meant a knowledge of the laws and conditions by which, for instance, siliceous sand is turned into glass, and is made, in our windows, to stand sentry upon the elements, doing such guard duty as no human wit could ever execute, admitting the friendly light, excluding the hostile storm and cold. He meant a knowledge of the laws by which brittle ore can be turned into cohesive iron to make the thousand

utensils of farmer and artusan, to clamp together houses and ships and bridges so that they laugh at the storm; to become the solid bed of a railway or uphold the lofty dome of a temple, never failing in the worship of fidelity; and again, how that iron can be turned into steel to give sharpness almost like that of human wit; or to uncoil itself all day long in a watch-spring, or, when notified by the slightest tap or pressure, to spring with instant elasticity, and set a thousand wheels in motion or suspend their revolutions. He meant a knowledge of the laws by which a mineral and a plant cunningly combined into a telescope unveils the miraculous glories of the heavens, turning those clouds of luminous ether or spots of silvery mist, visible in the far immensity, into aggregations of suns, thick and deep as though all the host of heaven had been collected and were encamped together, and kindling the devotions of every sane mortal into song and hallelujah.

Unconsciously, he meant that knowledge by which the crude substances of nature can be so prepared for our daily food, so accompanied by muscular play and so mingled with light and air and electricity, that they will be subtilized into the ethereal essence of the brain and there develop an Ariel nimbleness of fancy; or, through the magic relations of wit, wreath the faces of all mankind with smiles; or rouse the imagination to open new realms of sublimity; or set a sun in the forehead of intellect as it goes on its voyages of exploration into the deep unknown; or purify and exalt the spirit till it can look through all the wrappages and encasements of matter and behold the truths which fill the angels with raptures. Lord Bacon meant that knowledge by which all these marvels can be wrought through the laboratory of the stomach and the chemistry of the brain, as distinguished from the ignorance of diet and regimen which would turn the same soul and body into Lethe and a Serbonian bog.

In fine, so far as the material world is concerned, he meant the knowledge by which we can make an intelligent application to nature, through the medium of her laws, for the use of her powers, and by which the moment we supply the requisite conditions, she will furnish us with the weight of her atmosphere or her waters,

unloose her imprisoned calorie, give us the strength of the earth's gravitations, or detail to do our bidding, some one of that host of auxiliary forces which she has stationed, thick as they can stand, all over the globe.

It is this knowledge of the vast inventory of nature's wealth—of her multitudinous objects, and of the powers, capacities, and susceptibilities of each—that constitutes productive, effective, fruitful power in man. Human improvement consists in nothing and can consist in nothing but in discovering and obeying more and more of God's truths.

We are overwhelmed with amazement when we endeavor to contemplate even the different classes of truths which God has incorporated into and exemplified in this earth alone. Every science is but a vast congeries or collection of ascertained truths. Each science, considered integrally is to the mass of truths which compose it, as a mountain to the atoms which make up its magnitude. A science approximates perfection only in proportion as it exhausts all the truths which belong to it in the constitution of things. No science will be perfect until all the truths which God wrought into the subjectmatter of it, are revealed. This shows that all sciences must be everlastingly progressive; for when shall any mortal know all the things which God knows about any thing? We know not how many sciences are yet to be discovered whose germinal principle still remains unknown. But this we think we do know, that all that realm of space which lies between man's knowledge and God's Omniscience, waits to be explored by man, waits to be colonized by him, in the ever-onward march of love and duty and truth.

The individual truths which compose a single science or class of truths, are themselves so numerous that it is often the same to our apprehension as though they were infinite. Who can take a census of the truths which belong to the science of geology—a science which, through countless myriads of ages, has written its own biography, and whose self-illuminated index, men are just now beginning to read? What multitudes of truths are embraced in the science of zoology, from the ephemeral insect to the century-living eagle; from the animalcule, indiscernable by the naked eye, to the

leviathan or the "half-reasoning elephant"! Who can number the truths belonging to the sciences of light, heat, sound, magnetism, galvanism, electricity, fluids, pneumatics, botany, chemistry, medicine, astronomy? Yet all these as they appertain to matter and time, have the relative meagerness and paucity of matter and time, while the sciences which belong to the spirit partake of the number and complex relations of that infinitude to which the spirit belongs. Such are the mathematics, according to whose diagrams the universe seems to have been projected; for all things can be represented by their law of proportions, from the voice of the thunder-cloud to the tones and semi-tones of the most delicate instrument. Light, heat, motion, the definite proportions of chemistry are inwardly governed by a mathematical law; all planets and suns were weighed in their balance and the void spaces between them were measured by their line. Such, too, is the science of government considered in its threefold departments, legislative, judicial, and executive; and such are the soul-revealing science of metaphysics, the soul-revealing science of ethics, and the science of education, which like the radiant and all-comprehending zone in the Ptolemaic system of the universe, circuits and upholds the whole. The earth on which we tread, its encompassing atmosphere, the countless organisms that people it, the solar system to which we belong; and, more emphatically, our human structure, senses, and faculties, are each the nucleus of a different class of truths, and each class comprehends unknown myriads of truths. Indeed, so multifarious are these different classes of truths and so multitudinous the truths in each class, that we may exclaim in wonder, who has yet lived who has known all the different classes of truths; still more, who has known all the truths comprehended in any one class! What amazing extent, what marvelous variety, what collective magnificence! And if such be the number of truths pertaining to this earthly ball, how must it be in the inconceivable immensity! Surely, the Creator is not Infinite only, but an Infinity of Infinities. An earth-full, a sky-full, an eternity-full of truths lie around us and before us, upon the outer margin of which we are but just entering. How can such a world produce a dogmatizer or a bigot!

Behold, then, the noble gifts which nature confers upon those disciples who learn her powers and pray to her in the only language she understands—an observance of her laws. Without the aid of those powers, the ships we navigate, the homes we live in, the garments we wear, the tables we spread, the libraries we read, all the comforts and luxuries of life we enjoy, could never have been produced. There might have been a few ships, but they would have been more piratical than commercial. There might have been one St. Peter's for all Italy and one St. Paul's for all England, but there would have been no village churches with their heavenward pointing spires, to be crowded with humble worshippers. Our houses would have been hovels and our garments the skins of beasts; our tables poverty, our libraries absolutely non-existent; there could not have been a Bible to a county through all the land, and in our destitution of refinement, competence, and education, we should have been barbarians; or rather *we* should not have been at all.

I believe it to have been a part of the vast munificence of the Creator to endue the earth with powers so exhaustless, so subtle, so swift, so various, so obedient to unchangeable law, as to supersede all her man-labor excepting so much only as it is best for his own health that man should perform for himself. In this way, the glorious wants of the soul shall be enfranchised from their enslavement to the mean necessities of the body. Hunger shall not treat knowledge as a robber seeking to steal away its bread. Cold shall not barter taste, culture, religion, for a rag to cover its shivering limbs.

Already has a substantial part of this work been done. Already, in our favored land, the common people enjoy healthful comforts, and means of mental and moral improvement, such as kings and queens, with all their wealth and authority, could not have commanded two centuries ago. And this work will go on until there is sufficient production from spontaneous energies for universal competence. Within the last hundred years, Christendom has better understood and observed a few of the laws of health, and already, in Europe and America, the average length of life has increased about one-third.

This knowledge of the laws of physical nature not only adds a myriad fold to human power, but it preserves its possessors from myriads of dangers. If we knew the rapid and resistless motions of nature, few would be so insane as to cast themselves beneath her wheels. When the youthful, the lovely, and the excellent are brought to an untimely grave, when the great benefactors of their race are struck down in their ascension to virtue and usefulness midway in their glorious career, an ignorant piety refers the calamity to the dispensations of an inscrutable Providence. It sees not that their death was the awarded penalty of some violation of God's law. It understands not that nature never accepts the plea of a general obedience as an excuse for a particular neglect; or, like the Pope, issues its indulgences for bodily sins and takes its pay in prayer and thanksgiving. It sees not that it would be impious even to ask the Deity to repeal or to invert the mighty laws of this swift-moving universe to rectify the mistakes of our ignorance or gratify the desires of our folly.

Nature—I use this word as the representative of all those laws and energies of which we have spoken, and which are only the Creator personified—nature is often called *maternal*. We salute her by the endearing name of Mother, as though the sweet bond of a filial relation subsisted between us. To such as know her powers and are dutifully obedient to her laws, she is a mother, and prescribes no limit to her munificence but their capacity to receive it. But to the ignorant or disobedient, she is more remorseless than death and the grave. She is death and the grave and unutterable woe! Commit a ship freighted with a thousand souls to an intemperate or an ignorant man, who knows not her intelligent sympathies or cannot measure his longitude upon the earth's surface, and will the storm which drives her like an arrow upon a rock-bound shore, heed the frantic cry of the sufferers? Let the engineers of a suspension bridge or of the Thames Tunnel fail to underestimate the cohesion of their structure or the weight of their burden, and the train plunges into the river or the water bursts into the excavation, though each were filled with mothers and children. Will Vesuvius withhold its boiling overflow because Pompeii and Herculaneum are in the lava's channel? Will the dis-

parted avalanche remain self-poised in mid-air because the happy homes of Alpine villagers lie in its descending pathway? No, the heart of nature is touched by no sympathy for man, save that which comes through obedience to her laws. She knows not, she cares not how many she crushes beneath her weights, or sinks in her waters, or consumes in her fires. Let a whole race live in disobedience to her laws, and she takes no census of their generations, but whether it be a miserable tribe of Feejee Islanders, or all Asia and all Africa, she tortures them with superstition while living and casts them into oblivion when dead. But let any people discover and obey her laws, and like an adorable and puissant goddess, by rules as infallible as those which wheel the planets in their orbits, she will advance that people to hitherto undiscovered regions of prosperity and glory and joy.

As it regards the material world, then, is not a knowledge of those laws which allies a portion of Omnipotence to our weakness and supplements our feeble wisdom and skill with a portion of the Divine wisdom and skill; which saves us from so much wretchedness and desolation resulting from vain attempts to contravene nature, and which turns the materials of superstition into kindling excitements for adoration and gratitude to God—are not these the parts of knowledge best worth being known?

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## APPENDIX C

### Report on the "Code of Honor," Falsely So Called

At a convention composed of delegates from colleges in the state of Ohio, assembled at Columbus, December 29, 1856, the following resolutions, designed to promote the internal tranquility, the literary progress, and the exemplary conduct of students, were unanimously adopted; and a committee, consisting of Horace Mann, president of Antioch College, Reverend Jeremiah Hall, president of Denison University, and Reverend Solomon Howard, president of Ohio University, were appointed to prepare an address to the faculties of colleges in the state of Ohio, setting forth more fully and argumentatively the subjectmatter of the resolutions, and to cause the same to be printed and distributed:

*"Whereas* a sentiment very generally prevails in colleges and schools that students ought, as far as possible, to withhold all information respecting the misconduct of their fellow-students from faculty and teachers;

*"And whereas* this sentiment is often embodied in what is called a *code of honor*, by whose unwritten and therefore uncertain provisions, students are often tempted or constrained, under fear of ridicule or contempt or violence, to connive at the offences of their fellow-students beforehand, or to screen them from punishment afterwards;

*"And whereas* a bounty is thus offered for the commission of wrong in the impunity which is secured to the wrong-doer: therefore

*"Resolved*, That a college or school is a community which as an essential condition of its prosperity must, like any other community, be governed by wise and wholesome laws faithfully administered.

*"And further resolved*, That as he is a good citizen and in the highest degree worthy of the gratitude of the community where he dwells, who, knowing that an offence is about to be

committed, promptly interposes to prevent it; and as he is a bad citizen and worthy the condemnation of all good men, who, knowing that an offence has been committed, withholds testimony or suborns witnesses to shield the culprit from the consequences of his crime: so, in a college or in a school, he is a good student and a true friend of all other students, who by any personal influence which he can exert or by any information which he can impart, prevents the commission of offences that are meditated or helps to redress the wrongs already committed; and that he is a bad student who, by withholding evidence or by false and evasive testimony, protects offenders and thereby encourages the repetition of offences; and further, that as civic society cannot attain those ends of peace and prosperity for which it was constituted if it should suffer accomplices in crime or accessories, either before or after the fact, to remain or go at large among its members: so no college or school can ever reach the noble purposes of its institution should it permit confederates or accessories in vice or crime to remain enrolled among its members.

*“And whereas* one great object of penal discipline is the reformation of the offender: therefore

*“Resolved,* That just in proportion as the students of any institution will cooperate with its government in maintaining order and good morals, just in the same proportion should the government of such institution become more lenient and parental, substituting private expostulation for public censure and healing counsel for wounding punishments.”

The committee appointed at the convention above named to prepare an address to the faculties of the colleges above referred to, have attended to the duty assigned them, and submit the following:

## REPORT

Unhappily no person needs to be informed that a feeling of antagonism towards teachers often exists among students. The hostile relation of distrust and disobedience supplants the filial one of trust and obedience. Such a relation necessitates more or

less of coercive discipline; and discipline, unless when administered in the highest spirit of wisdom and love, alienates rather than attaches. Though it may subdue opposition, it fails to conciliate the affections.

A moment's consideration must convince the most simple-minded that the idea of a natural hostility between teachers and pupils is not merely wrong, but ruinous. Without sympathy, without mutual affection, between instructors and instructed, many of the noblest purposes of education are wholly baffled and lost. No student can ever learn even the most abstract science from a teacher whom he dislikes as well as from one whom he loves. Affection is an element in which all the faculties of the mind as well as all the virtues of the heart flourish.

Springing from this deplorable sentiment of a natural antagonism between teachers and students, an actual belligerent condition ensues between them. One party promulgates laws: the other disobeys them when it dares; or, what is an evil only one degree less in magnitude than actual disobedience, it renders but a formal or compulsory compliance—there being, in strictness, no obedience but that of the heart. One party enjoins duties: the other evades or grudgingly performs them. Prohibitions are clandestinely violated. A rivalry grows up between the skill and vigilance that would detect, and the skill and vigilance that would evade detection. Authority on the one side, and fear on the other, usurp the place of love. Aggression and counter-aggression, not friendship and cooperation, become the motives of conduct; and the college or the school is a house divided against itself.

We gladly acknowledge that there are practical limits both on the side of faculties and of students to these deplorable results. Still, students do bear about a vast amount of suppressed and latent opposition against faculties and teachers, which, though never developing itself in overt acts of mutiny or indignity, yet mars the harmony and subtracts from the usefulness of all our educational institutions.

Though all students do not partake of this feeling of hostility towards teachers, or in the practice of disobedience to their requirements, yet, as a matter of fact, the wrong-doers have inspired

the right-doers with something of their sentiments and coerced them as auxiliaries into their service. A feeling almost universally prevails throughout the colleges and schools of our country that the students in each institution constitute of themselves a kind of corporation, and that this corporation is bound to protect and defend, with the united force of the whole body, any individual member who may be in peril of discipline, although that peril may have been incurred by his own misconduct. If, then, there is a corporation bound together by supposed collective interests, it is certain that this body will have its laws; and as laws will be inefficacious without penalties, it will have its penalties also. These laws, by those who are proud to uphold and prompt to vindicate them, are called the *code of honor*—a name which at once arouses the attention and attracts the sympathies of ardent and ingenuous youth. Being unwritten laws with undefined penalties, both law and penalty will, at all times, be just what their framers and executors choose to make them. But unwritten laws and undefined penalties are of the very essence of despotism; and hence the sanctions for violating this code of honor, so called, are often terrible—so unrelenting and inexorable that few, even of the most talented and virtuous members of our literary institutions, dare to confront and brave them. Often they are the very reverse of the old Roman decree of banishment; for that only deprived a citizen of fire and water, whereas these burn or drown him. They often render it impossible for any supposed offender to remain among the students whose vengeance he has incurred.

The requisitions of this code are different in different places and at different times. Sometimes they are simply negative, demanding that a student shall take care to be absent when anything culpable is to be committed, or silent when called on as a witness for its exposure. Sometimes they go farther and demand evasion, misrepresentation, or even falsehood, in order to screen a fellow-student or a fellow-conspirator from the consequences of his misconduct; and sometimes anyone who exposes not merely a violator of college regulations, but an offender against the laws of morality and religion, in order that he may be checked in his vicious and criminal career, is stigmatized as an “informer,” is

pursued with the shafts of ridicule or the hisses of contempt, or even visited with some form of wild and savage vengeance.

It is impossible not to see that, when such a sentiment becomes the "common law" of a literary institution, offenders will be freed from all salutary fear of detection and punishment. Where witnesses will not testify, or will testify falsely, of course the culprit escapes. This security from exposure becomes a premium on transgression. Lawlessness runs riot when the preventive police of virtuous sentiment and of allegiance to order is blinded and muzzled. Thus, at the very outset, this code of honor inaugurates the reign of dishonor and shame. Judged, then, by its fruits, what condemnation of such a code can be too severe?

But in the outset, we desire to allow to this feeling, as we usually find it, all that it can possibly claim under any semblance of justice or generosity. When, as doubtless it sometimes happens, one student reports the omissions or commissions of another to a college faculty from motives of private ill-will or malice; or when one competitor in the race for college honors, convinced that he will be outstripped by his rival unless he can fasten upon that rival some weight of suspicion or odium, seeks to disparage his character instead of surpassing his scholarship; or when any mere tattling is done for any mean or low purpose whatever—in all such cases, everyone must acknowledge that the conduct is reprehensible and the motive dishonoring. No student can gain any advantage with any honorable teacher by such a course. The existence of any such case supplies an occasion for admonition which no faithful teacher will fail to improve. Here, as in all other cases, we stand upon the axiomatic truth, that the moral quality of an action is determined by the motive that prompts it.

But suppose, on the other hand, that the opportunities of the diligent for study are destroyed by the disorderly, or that public or private property is wantonly sacrificed or destroyed by the maliciously mischievous; suppose that indignities and insults are heaped upon officers, upon fellow-students, or upon neighboring citizens; suppose the laws of the land or the higher law of God is broken—in these cases, and in cases kindred to these, may a diligent and exemplary student, after finding that he cannot arrest the

delinquent by his own friendly counsel or remonstrance, go to the faculty, give them information respecting the case, and cause the offender to be brought to an account? or, if called before the faculty as a witness, may he testify fully and frankly to all he knows? Or in other words, when a young man, sent to college for the highest of all earthly purposes—that of preparing himself for usefulness and honor—is wasting time, health, and character in wanton mischief, in dissipation, or in profligacy, is it dishonorable in a fellow-student to give information to the proper authorities and thus set a new instrumentality in motion, with a fair chance of redeeming the offender from ruin? This is the question. Let us examine it.

As set forth in the resolutions, a college is a community. Like other communities, it has its objects which are among the noblest; it has its laws indispensable for accomplishing those objects; and these laws, as usually framed, are salutary and impartial. The laws are for the benefit of the community to be governed by them; and without the laws, and without a general observance of them, this community, like any other, would accomplish its ends imperfectly, perhaps come to ruin.

Now, in any civil community, what class of persons is it which arrays itself in opposition to wise and salutary laws? Of course, it never is the honest, the virtuous, the exemplary. They regard good laws as friends and protectors. But horse-thieves, counterfeiters, defrauders of the custom-house or post-office—these, in their several departments, league together and form conspiracies to commit crimes beforehand and to protect each other from punishment afterwards. But honest farmers, faithful mechanics, upright merchants, the high-toned professional man—these have no occasion for plots and perjuries, for they have no offences to hide and no punishments to fear. The first aspect of the case, then, shows the paternity of this false idea of “honor” among students. It was borrowed from rogues and knaves and speculators and scoundrels generally, and not from men of honor, rectitude, and purity. As it regards students, does not the analogy hold true?

When incendiaries or burglars, or the meaner gangs of pick-pockets, are abroad, is not he by whose vigilance and skill the

perpetrators can be arrested and their depredations stopped, considered a public benefactor<sup>2</sup> And if we had been the victim of arson, housebreaking, or pocket-picking, what should we think of a witness who, on being summoned into court, should refuse to give the testimony that would convict the offender? Could we think anything better of such a dumb witness than that he was an accomplice and sympathized with the villainy? To meet such cases, all our courts are invested with power to deal with such contumacious witnesses in a summary manner. Refusing to testify, they are adjudged guilty of one of the grossest offences a man can commit; and they are forthwith imprisoned even without trial by jury. No community could subsist for a month if everybody, at his own pleasure, could refuse to give evidence in court. It is equally certain that no college could subsist as a place for the growth of morality, and not for its extirpation, if its students should act, or were allowed to act, on the principle of giving or withholding testimony at their own option. The same principle, therefore, which justifies courts in cutting off reculant witnesses from society, would seem to justify a college faculty in cutting off reculant students from a college.

Courts, also, are armed with power to punish perjury; and the law justly regards this offence as one of the greatest that can be committed. Following close after the offence of perjury in the courts is the offence of prevarication or falsehood in shielding a fellow-student or accomplice from the consequences of his misconduct; for, as the moral growth keeps pace with the natural, there is infinite danger that the youth who tells falsehoods will grow into the man who commits perjuries.

So a student who means to conceal the offence of a fellow-student or to divert investigation from the right track, though he may not tell an absolute lie, yet is *in a lying state of mind*, than which many a sudden, unpremeditated lie, struck out by the force of a vehement temptation, is far less injurious to character. A lying state of mind in youth has its natural culmination in the falsehoods and perjuries of manhood.

When students enter college, they not only continue their civil relations, as men, to the officers of the college, but they come

under new and special obligations to them. Teachers assume much of the parental relation towards students, and students much of the filial relation towards teachers. A student, then, is bound to assist and defend a teacher as a parent, and a teacher is bound to assist and defend a student as a child. The true relation between a college faculty and college students is that which existed between Lord Nelson and his sailors: he did his uttermost for them, and they did their uttermost for him.

Now suppose a student should see an incendiary, with torch in hand, ready to set fire to the dwelling in which any one of us and his family are lying in unconscious slumber: ought he not as a man, to say nothing of his duty as a student, give an alarm, that we may arouse and escape? Might we not put this question to anybody but the incendiary himself and expect an affirmative answer? But if vices and crimes should become the regular program; the practical order of exercises in a college, as they would to a great extent do if the vicious and profligate could secure impunity through the falsehoods or the voluntary dumbness of fellow-students; then, surely, all that is most valuable and precious in a college would be destroyed in the most deplorable way; and who of us would not a hundred times rather have an incendiary set fire to his house while he was asleep, than to bear the shame of the downfall of an institution under his charge through the misconduct of its students? And, in the eyes of all right-minded men, it is a far lighter offence to destroy a mere material dwelling of wood or stone than to destroy that moral fabric which is implied by the very name of an educational institution.

The student who would inform me if he saw a cut-purse purloining the money from my pocket, is bound, by reasons still more cogent, to inform me if he sees any culprit or felon destroying that capital, that stock-in-trade, which consists in the fair name or reputation of the college over which I preside.

And what is the true relation which the protecting student holds to the protected offender? Is it that of a real friend, or that of the worst enemy? An offender tempted onward by the hope of impunity is almost certain to repeat his offence. If repeated, it becomes *habitual*, and will be repeated, not only with aggravation

in character, but with rapidity of iteration; unless, indeed, it be abandoned for other offences of a higher type. A college-life filled with the meannesses of clandestine arts, first spotted, and then made black all over with omissions and commissions, spent in shameful escapes from duty, and in enterprises of positive wrong still more shameful, is not likely to culminate in a replenished, dignified, and honorable manhood. Look for such wayward students after twenty years, and you would not go to the high places of society to find them, but to gaming-house or prison or some place of infamous resort; or if reformation has intervened, and an honorable life falsifies the auguries of a dishonorable youth, nowhere will you hear the voice of repentance and sorrow more sad or more sincere than from the lips of the moral wanderer himself. Now, let us ask what kind of a friend is he to another, who, when he sees him just entering on the high road to destruction, instead of summoning natural or official guardians to save him, refuses to give the alarm, and thus clears away all the obstacles, and supplies all the facilities for his speedy passage to ruin?

If one student sees another just stepping into deceitful waters where he will probably be drowned, or proceeding along a pathway which has a pitfall in its track or a precipice at its end, is it not the impulse of friendship to shout his danger in his ear? Or if I am nearer than he, or can for any reason more probably rescue the imperilled from his danger, ought he not to shout to me? But a student just entering the outer verge of the whirlpool of temptation, whose narrowing circle and accelerating current will soon engulf him in the vortex of sin, is in direr peril than any danger of drowning, of pitfall, or of precipice, because the spiritual life is more precious than the bodily. It is a small thing to die, but a great one to be depraved. If a student will allow me to co-operate with him to save a fellow-student from death, why not from calamities which are worse than death? He who saves one's character is a greater benefactor than he who saves his life. Who, then, is the true friend—he who supplies the immunity which a bad student *desires*, or the saving warning or coercion which he *needs*?

But young men are afraid of being ridiculed if they openly

espouse the side of progress, and of good order as one of the essentials to progress. But which is the greater evil—the ridicule of the wicked, or the condemnation of the wise?

*“Ask you why Wharton broke through every rule?  
’Twas all for fear that knaves would call him fool.”*

But the student says, “Suppose I had been the wrong-doer, and my character and fortunes were in the hands of a fellow-student: I should not like to have him make report or give evidence against me; *and I must do as I would be done by.*” How short-sighted and one-sided is this view! Suppose you had been made, or were about to be made, the innocent victim of wrong-doing, would you not then wish to have the past injustice redressed or the future injustice averted? Towards whom, then, should your Golden Rule be practiced—towards the offender, or towards the party offended? Where a wrong is done, everybody is injured—the immediate object of the wrong directly, everybody else indirectly; for every wrong invades the rights and the sense of safety which every individual, community, or body politic has a right to enjoy. Therefore, doing as we would be done by to the offender, in such a case, is doing as we would *not* be done by to everybody else. Nay, if we look beyond the present deed and the present hour, the kindest office we can perform for the offender himself is to expose and thereby arrest him. With such arrest, there is great chance that he will be saved; without it, there is little.

Does anyone still insist upon certain supposed evils incident to the practice, should students give information of each other’s misconduct, we reply, that the practice itself would save nine-tenths of the occasions for informing, and thus the evils alleged to belong to the practice would be almost wholly prevented by it. And how much better is antidote than remedy!

But again: look at the parties that constitute a college. A faculty is selected from the community at large for their supposed competency for teaching and training youth. Youth are committed to their care to be taught and trained. The two parties are now together, face to face—the one ready and anxious to impart and to mold, the other in a receptive and growing condition. A case of

offence, a case of moral delinquency—no matter what—occurs. It is the very point, the very juncture, where the wisdom, the experience, the parental regard of the one should be brought, with all their healing influences, to bear upon the indiscretion, the rashness, or the wantonness of the other. The parties were brought into proximity for this identical purpose. Here is the *casus fœderis*. Why does not one of them supply the affectionate counsel, the preventive admonition, the heart-emanating and heart-penetrating reproof, perhaps even the salutary fear, which the other so much needs?—needs now, needs today, needs at this very moment, needs as much as the fainting man needs a cordial, or a suffocating man air, or a drowning man a life-preserver. Why is not the anodyne, or the restorative, or the support given? Skilful physician and desperate patient are close together. Why, then, at this most critical juncture, does not the living rescue the dying? Because a *friend*, a pretended FRIEND, holds it as a point of honor, that, when *his* friend is sick—sick with a soul-disease, now curable, but in danger of soon becoming incurable—he ought to cover up his malady, and keep the ethical healer blind and far away! When Cain said, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” it was a confession of his own crime. But even that crime, great as it was, fell short of encouraging Abel to do wrong, and then protecting the criminal that he might repeat his crime.

*“When we disavow  
Being keeper to our brother, we’re his Cain.”*

Such is the whole philosophy of that miserable and wicked doctrine, that it is a *point of honor* not to “report”—though from the most humane and Christian motives—the misconduct of a fellow-student to the faculty that has legitimate jurisdiction over the case, and is bound by every obligation of affection, of honor, and of religion to exercise that jurisdiction with a single eye to the good of the offender and of the community over which it presides. It is a foul doctrine. It is a doctrine which every parent ought to denounce wherever he hears it advanced, at his table, his fireside, or in public. It is a doctrine which every community of students ought, for their own peace, safety, and moral progress,

to abolish. It is a doctrine which every college faculty ought to banish from its halls, first by extracting it from its possessor and expelling it alone; or, if that severance be impossible, by expelling the possessor with it.

The practicability of carrying out the views above presented is not an untried experiment. In an institution with which one of your committee is officially connected (Antioch College), the doctrines above set forth were announced at its opening, and have now been practiced upon for a period of more than three years; and they have been attended with the happiest results. Such a degree of order, of regularity, and of exemplariness of conduct has been secured, that for more than fourteen months last past, and with between three and four hundred students in attendance, not a single serious case for discipline has occurred.

In some respects, the experiment here referred to has been tried under more than an average of favoring circumstances; in other respects, under less. The institution was new. There was no traditional sentiment in regard to the so called code of honor to break down. In that organism the distemper was not chronic. And further: a large portion of its early members were of mature age—persons who *came* to college instead of being *sent* there—whose head and hands were alike unsullied by idea or implement of rowdyism, and who looked with a high-minded disdain upon all those brainless exploits which cluster under the name of college “pranks” or “tricks” or “practical jokes.” We call them *brainless*, because there has scarcely been a new one for centuries; the professors in these arts being compelled to imitate, because they have too little genius to invent. Indeed, their best palliation is that they are too witless to know better, or that they suffer under the misfortune of having silly fathers and silly mothers who have permitted their minds to remain in that *simia* stage of development through which they were passing up towards manhood; for at this stage *quadrumana* and *bimana* will act alike.

Another point in which the college referred to has enjoyed a great advantage in regard to the motive-power actuating its students, has been the presence of both sexes. Each sex has exercised a salutary influence upon the other. Intellectually they have

stimulated, morally they have restrained, one another; and it is the opinion of those who have administered the institution that no other influence could, in so short a time, have produced so beneficial an effect. To this, perhaps, it should also be added that this college discards all artificial systems of emulation by prizes, parts, or honors, as they are called; so that one of the most powerful temptations to degrade the standing of a fellow-student in the hope of advancing one's own is removed.

But, on the other hand, it is obvious that an attempt by a single college to revolutionize a public sentiment so widespread, so deep-seated, and so fortified by wicked purposes acting under the disguises of honor and magnanimity, must be an arduous and a perilous enterprise. So true is this that a hundred individual attempts successively made, though followed by a hundred discomfitures, would supply no argument against the triumphant success of a combined and simultaneous assault, by all our literary institutions, upon the flagitious doctrines of the "code of honor." For while the virus of the code exists in other seminaries and in the public mind generally, every new student must be placed, as it were, *in quarantine*; and even this could afford no adequate security that he would not introduce the contagion. It is only when moral health prevails in the place from which he comes that we can be sure of maintaining it in the place he enters.

In the experiment here spoken of, the general doctrines set forth in the resolutions, though announced and vindicated on all proper occasions, were not incorporated into the college statutes nor were they presented to new students for signature or pledge; but when any student fell under censure, he was then required, under penalty of dismissal, to yield an affirmative acquiescence to the soundness of these doctrines and to make an express promise to abide by them. Only a single case of contumacy under this requirement has occurred for more than three years; and, so far as known, not a case of nonfulfilment of the promise. Indeed, but few cases are left for the promise to act upon.

In conclusion, the committee would express a confident opinion that the proposed revolution in public sentiment is entirely practicable. The evil to be abolished is an enormous one. The reform

would be not only relatively, but positively, beneficent. The precedent already established, if it does not enforce conviction, at least affords encouragement. The committee, therefore, recommend the doctrines set forth in the above resolutions to the faculties of all colleges—especially to those in the state of Ohio, whom they more particularly represent—for practical and immediate application.

On behalf of the committee,

HORACE MANN.

The same convention, at the same meeting, also unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

*“Whereas* vicious and criminal men become more potent for mischief in proportion to the education they receive;

*And whereas* if a man will be a malefactor, it is better that he should be an ignorant one than a learned one: therefore

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to all the colleges in the state of Ohio summarily to dismiss or expel students who, without the permission of their respective teachers, use any kind of intoxicating beverages; and

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to all the colleges in the state of Ohio to prevent, by the most efficacious means within their power, the kindred, ungentlemanly, and foul-mouthed vices of uttering profanity and using tobacco.”

[Reprinted from Mary Mann’s *Life of Horace Mann*, 58: 585-96.]

## APPENDIX D

### Report on Intemperance, Profanity, and Tobacco in Schools and Colleges

At a meeting of the Ohio State Teachers' Association held at Columbus, December 27, 1856, a committee—consisting of Horace Mann, H. H. Barney, Professor Marsh, Professor Young, and G. E. Howe—was appointed to recommend some action respecting the use of intoxicating liquors, profane swearing, and tobacco, in the schools and colleges of the state. The committee afterwards submitted the following:

#### REPORT AND RESOLUTIONS

Within the crowded hours of the Association, it is impossible for your committee to make an extended report. Nor is it necessary for them to do so. On the first point particularly—that of using intoxicating liquors—what occasion have they to dwell? It is not any far-off calamity, removed to the other side of the globe or hidden in the recesses of antiquity, escaping assault and overtasking description; but it is among us and of us, a present, embodied, demoniac reality, smiting as no pestilence ever smote, and torturing as fire cannot torture, destroying alike both body and soul. It invades all ranks and conditions of men, and its retinue consists of every form of human misery. In all the land, there is scarcely a family, there is not one social circle, from which it has not snatched a victim: alas, from many, how many! No other vice marshals and heralds such hosts to perdition. It besieges and makes captive the representatives of the people in legislative halls, and there gets its plans organized into law where, first and chiefest, they should be annihilated. It usurps the bench and there, under the guise of the sacred ermine, it suborns the judiciary to deny the eternal maxims and verities of jurisprudence and ethics, and to hold those prohibitions to be unconstitutional and invasive of natural rights, which only conflict with their own artificial constitution and acquired daily habits; and it ascends the sacred altar,

and when the ambassador of God should speak like one of the prophets of old, or like an inspired apostle, against drunkenness and drunkards, it lays the finger of one hand upon his lips, with the other it points to some wealthy, somnolent inebriate below, and the ambassador forgets his embassy and is silent. No other vice known upon earth has such potency to turn heavenly blessings into hellish ruins. It is no extravagance to say that the sum-total of prudence, of wisdom, of comfort, of exemplary conduct, and of virtue would have been today sevenfold what they are throughout the world but for the existence of intoxicating beverages among men; and that the sum-total of poverty, of wretchedness, of crime, and of sorrow would not be one-tenth part today what they now are but for the same prolific, ever-flowing, overflowing fountain of evil. Youth, health, strength, beauty, talent, genius, and all the susceptibilities of virtue in the human heart, alike perish before it. Its history is a vast record which, like the roll seen in the vision of the prophet, is written within and without, full of lamentation and mourning and woe.

No one can deny that intemperance carries ruin everywhere. It reduces the fertile farm to barrenness. It suspends industry in the shop of the mechanic. It banishes skill from the cunning hand of the artisan and artist. It dashes to pieces the locomotive of the engineer. It sinks the ship of the mariner. It spreads sudden night over the solar splendors of genius at its full-orbed, meridian glory. But nowhere is it so ruinous, so direful, so eliminating and expulsive of all good, so expletive and redundant of all evil, as in the school and the college, as upon the person and character of the student himself. Creator of evil, destroyer of good among youth, it invests its votaries with the fullness of both prerogatives, and sends them out on the career of life to suffer where they should have rejoiced, to curse where they should have blessed.

Nor do the committee feel called upon to make any extended remarks upon the vice of using profane language. It is an offense emphatically without temptation and without reward. It helps not to feed a man, nor to clothe him, nor to shelter him. It is not wit, it is not music, it is not eloquence, it is not poetry; but of each of these, it is the opposite. Let a man swear ever so laboriously

all his life, will it add a feather to the softness of his dying bed? will it give one solace to the recollections of his dying hour? No; but even the most reckless man will acknowledge that it will add bitterness and anguish unspeakable. Were profanity as poisonous to the tongue as it is to the soul, did it blacken and deform the lips as it does the character, what a ghastly spectacle would a profane man exhibit! Yet to the eye of purity and innocence, to the moral vision of every sensible and right-minded man, lips, tongue, and heart of every profane swearer do look ghastly and deformed as disease and impiety can make them. How must they look to the infinite purity of God!

What an ungrateful, unmanly, and ignoble requital do we make to God, who gave us these marvelous powers of speech wherewith to honor and adore, when we pervert the selfsame powers to dishonor and blaspheme the name of the Giver! Perhaps the most beautiful and effective compliment anywhere to be found in the whole circle of ancient or modern literature is that which was paid by Cicero to the poet Archias, in the exordium of the celebrated defence which he made on the trial of that client. In brief paraphrase, as cited from recollection, it was something like this: If, says he, there is in me any talent, if I have any faculty or power of eloquence, if I have made aught of proficiency in those liberal and scholarly studies which at all times of my life have been so grateful to me, this Archias, my client, has a right to the command of them all; for he it was who taught them to me: he first inspired me with the ambition of being an advocate and he imbued me with whatever gifts of oratory I may possess. It is his right, then, to command the tribute of my services.

If the great Cicero, standing in the presence of all the dignitaries of Rome, felt bound to acknowledge his obligations to the man who had instructed his youth and helped to adorn the riper periods of his life only in a single department, how much more imperative the obligation upon every ingenuous and noble soul to praise and honor that great Being who has endowed us with all we possess, and made possible whatever we can rightfully hope for!

There are certain situations where none but the lowest and most scandalous of men ever suffer themselves to swear. Amongst all

people claiming any semblance to decent behavior, the presence of ladies or the presence of clergymen bans profanity. How distorted and abnormal is that state of mind in which the presence of man can suppress a criminal oath, but not the omnipresence of God! A Christian should be afraid to swear; a gentleman should be ashamed to. Every pupil, as he approaches the captivating confines of manhood, should propose to himself as a distinct object to be a gentleman, as much as to be a learned man; otherwise he is unworthy the sacred prerogatives of learning.

Your committee have but brief space and time for the consideration of the remaining topic.

Among the reasons against the use of tobacco, they submit the following:

[1] Tobacco is highly injurious to health, being pronounced by all physiologists and toxicologists to be among the most active and virulent of vegetable poisons. That consumers of tobacco sometimes live many years does not disprove the strength of its poison, but only proves the strength of the constitution that resists it; and that strength, instead of being wasted in resisting the poison, might be expended in making the life of its possessor longer and more useful.

[2] It is very expensive. The average cost of supplying a tobacco-user for life would be sufficient to purchase a good farm, or to build a beautiful and commodious house, or to buy a fine library of books. Which course of life best comports with the dignity of a rational being—to puff and spit this value away, or to change it into garden and cultivated fields, into a nice dwelling, or into the embalmed and glorified forms of genius? What a difference it would make to the United States and to the world, if the four hundred thousand acres now planted with tobacco within their limits, were planted to corn or wheat!

[3] Tobacco-users bequeath weakened brains, irritable nerves, and other forms of physical degeneracy to their children. The factitious pleasures of the parent inflict real pains upon his offspring. The indulgences of the one must be atoned for by the suffering of the other, the innocent expiating the offences of the guilty. Nor, in regard to these personal and hereditary injuries

to the mind, would the committee stand merely upon the principle laid down by the physician who, when asked if tobacco injured the brain, replied promptly in the negative, for, said he, people who have brains never touch it.

[4] Tobacco-users are always filthy; and we read of an infinitely desirable kingdom into which no unclean thing can ever enter.

[5] Tobacco-users are always unjust towards others. They pollute the atmosphere which other men desire to breathe and have a right to breathe in its purity. A smoker or chewer may have a right to a limited circle of the atmosphere around his own person, but he has no right to stench the air for a rod around him and half a mile behind him; he has no right to attempt a geographical reproduction of river and lake by the artificial pools and streams he makes in steamboat and car.

[6] A tobacco-user is the common enemy of decency and good taste. His mouth and teeth, which should be the cleanest, he makes the foulest part of him. When one sees a plug of nasty, coarse, liver-colored tobacco, he pities the mouth it is destined to enter; but when one sees the mouth, he pities the tobacco.

[7] The old monks used to prove the pollutions of tobacco from Scripture; for, said they, it is that which cometh out of the mouth that defileth a man.

[8] It has been argued that the adaptation of means to ends, which characterizes all the works of creation, intimates that snuff should never be taken; for had such been the design of Nature, the nose would have been turned the other end up.

[9] It may be fairly claimed that if Nature had ever designed that man should chew or smoke or snuff, she would have provided some place where the disgusting process could be performed systematically and with appropriate accompaniments; but no such place or accompaniments have ever yet been discovered. Tobacco is unfit for the parlor, for that is the resort of ladies, and should therefore be free from inspissated saliva and putrefied odors. It is not befitting the dining-room, where its effluvia may be absorbed or its excretions be mingled with viand

and beverage. Still less does it befit the kitchen, where those culinary processes are performed which give savor and flavor to all the preparations that grace the generous board. It should not be carried into the stable, for that is the residence of *neat* cattle. And the occupants of the sty itself would indignantly quit their premises, should one more lost to decency than themselves come to befume or bespatter or besnuff them. There is no spot or place among animals or men which the common uses of tobacco would not sink to a lower defœdation.

[10] Swiftly tending to destruction as is the use of intoxicating beverages; vulgar, ungentlemanly, and sinful as are all the varieties of profanity; unjust and unclean as are the effusions and exhalations of tobacco—yet their separate and distinctive evils are aggravated tenfold when combined and cooperating. How abhorrent to the senses and the heart of a pure and upright man is the wretch who abandons himself to them all! Physiology teaches us that as soon as alcohol is taken into the stomach, Nature plies all her enginery to expel the invader of her peace. She does not wait to digest it and pass it away, as is done with the other contents of the stomach; but she opens all her doors, and summons all her forces, to banish it from the realm. She expels it through the lungs, through the mouth and nose, through the eyes even, and through the seven million pores of the skin. So let tobacco be taken into the mouth, or drawn up, water-spout fashion, into the nose, and firemen never worked more vehemently at a fire, nor soldiers fought more desperately in a battle, than every muscle and membrane, every gland and emunctory, now struggles to wash away the impurity. Every organ, maxillary, lingual, labial, nasal, even the lachrymal, pour out their detergent fluids to sweep the nuisance away. Not a fiber or cellule, not a pore or sluiceway, but battles as for life to extrude the foul and fetid intruder. Hence expectoration, salivation, the anile tears of the drunkard, and the idiot drool of the tobacco-user, all attest the desperation of the efforts which Nature is making to defecate herself of the impurity. When people first begin to drink or chew or smoke, outraged Nature, as we all know, often goes into spasms and convulsions through the vehemence of her conflict for escape. Finally she suc-

cumbs, and all that constitutes the life of a man dies before death.

The apostle enjoins his disciples to keep their bodies pure *as a temple of the Holy Ghost*. But, in such a body, what spot is there, what space so large as a mathematical point, which the Holy Ghost, descending from the purity and sanctity of Heaven, could abide in for a moment? Surely, when a man reaches the natural consummation to which these habits legitimately tend; when his whole commerce with the world consists in his pouring alcohol in and pouring the impieties of profanity and the vilenesses of tobacco out—gurgitation and regurgitation, the systole and diastole of his being—he presents a spectacle not to be paralleled in the brute's kingdom or in the Devil's kingdom, on the earth or "elsewhere."

Your committee submit the following resolutions:

*"Resolved,* That school examiners ought never, under any circumstances, to give a certificate of qualification to teach school to any person who habitually uses any kind of intoxicating liquors; and that school officers, when other things are equal, should systematically give the preference to the total-abstinent candidate.

*"Resolved,* That all school teachers should use their utmost influence to suppress the kindred, ungentlemanly, and foul-mouthed vices of uttering profane language and using tobacco.

"On behalf of the committee,

HORACE MANN."

[Reprinted from Mary Mann's *Life of Horace Mann*, 58: 596-601.]

## APPENDIX E

### Relation of Colleges to Community

ADDRESS BY HORACE MANN PROBABLY BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN  
CONVENTION, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 7, 1858

*This address was discovered just as this book was going to press, by Robert L. Straker, graduate of Antioch College, among the unpublished papers of Horace Mann in the Massachusetts Historical Society of Boston. The address has never before appeared in print and is here published from the original manuscript written by Horace Mann.*

THE RELATION WHICH COLLEGES BEAR TO THE COMMUNITY is but little different from that which the brain bears to the rest of the body. Lord Bacon said, "Knowledge is power." In our more practical age, knowledge is government. Colleges are fountains of knowledge situated on high tablelands, whence their streams flow down to fertilize and bless mankind. Would to God that no infirmities ever mingled with their descending currents!

Here and there, it is true, a learned man rises up who never drank at collegiate fountains, who is himself a fountain, a Moses in the wilderness of man. But how rare! One such man in five millions of men is a large percentage. Occasionally too, practical men, as we call them, make glorious achievements by applying science to the affairs of life. But in all such cases, it was the thinkers, the philosophers, who first wrought out the knowledge which these dextrous, practical men apply; and, but for the preceding thought, the subsequent utility never could exist. Indeed, it is so universal a fact that college graduates write the books, make the scientific discoveries, and fill the posts of honor, emolument, and renown throughout the civilized world, that when any Titan of intellect or genius bursts into fame and lifts aloft the head that wears no college chaplet on its brow, he is signalized as a prodigy and men hail and honor him with loudest plaudits. Such striking exceptions are proofs not less striking of the rule. Take the fifty thousand men who today fill the fifty thousand posts in this country which

envy most covets, which ambition most gloats upon, which honor most glorifies, and nine-tenths of them will be found in the possession of college graduates, graduates, too, of colleges of rank and eminence—not of those Lilliputian establishments which, at the West, in language more expressive than elegant, are called “one-horse colleges” or “wheelbarrow universities,” flatulent institutions with thrice flatulent catalogues, whose founders had never read Aesop’s fable of the frog and the ox—but graduates of colleges which are holding aloft and bearing onward the noble standard of scholarship and science. In a country like ours, thanks be to God, which has ten thousand unbarred avenues to opulence and fame, it is true that amazing energy and enterprise will sometimes force their way up the steep to promotion and celebrity—will cut a Simplon over Alps of difficulty—while pale-faced, pallid Learning, Learning that has no Promethean fire in it, languishes behind.

But these heroisms of talent and genius are almost universally confined to some business department; they have only a material and utilitarian object, and do not belong to that upper realm of thought and spirituality whence all world-renovating influences descend. For it is in the inner sanctuary of the human soul that great ideas first marshal themselves into order and line of march; it is there that the emotions first thrill and coruscate, before they take on bodies and shoot out wings and fly forth to enrapture and bless the world—just as all this canopy of stars above us and this gulf of stars beneath us, existed and wheeled and blazed in the thoughts of God before they were clothed with light as with a garment and sprang into their celestial orbits at the creative word. When Plato was asked how God employed His leisure time, his reply was, “He geometrizes.” So the great thought-producers among men geometrize schemes, map out plans and diagrams, whether scientific, governmental, or ethical, project the vast circuits of human destiny which it takes builders and rulers whole centuries to embody and incarnate in material fact and to organize into human conduct and history.

The guidance and administration of life, in all its higher and more comprehensive departments, is mainly conducted, engineered, by men who have received the honors of a college; less

so in the political department than in any other in this country, but extensively so even there. But take the judges in all the higher courts in Christendom, into whose balances our fortunes, our lives, our characters are so often thrown; take the lawyers so wonderfully skilled to draw the line between *mine* and *yours*—better skilled for this, it is said, than to draw the line between *mine* and *theirs*; take the physicians who send their patients from the sick-bed, not to the sexton and undertaker, but to the butcher, baker, and grocer—physicians who give their patients consumption in the active and not in the passive sense, and in whose vicinity the graveyards do not, after the manner of western cities, double their population every other year; take the clergymen who give their hearers the bread and not the bran of life; take the editors of those newspapers who supply the breakfast tables of our omnivorous public with the riches of all the zones; and almost all the leading men in these various vocations—these commanding men of the age, these Plutarch's men—have their names borne upon college rolls. But when you come to the faculties of colleges, to the high priests of literature and science whose daily duty it is to minister in the sacred things of knowledge, here almost without exception each one is an alumnus. So, too, if you survey the gathered treasures of talent and genius, the libraries of the world—those stores of history and poetry, of jurisprudence and ethics, to which time and decay and death still have said, "We surrender to you; you must outlive us"—almost all of these are the glorious offspring of men educated at college, and if the college had not been, these works had not been.

I know that our colleges graduate annually a sufficient number of dunces to supply a superabundance of whetstones on which to sharpen the arrows of the wits who have never been to college. As it was said of the two ancient English universities, so it may be said of some of the older colleges in this country:

*"No wonder that Oxford and Cambridge profound,  
In learning and science so greatly abound,  
Since all carry thither a little each day,  
And we meet with so few who bring any away."*

There are pseudo-scholars, graduates who preserve their Latinity in their diplomas as a kind of *hortus seccus*, and who, outside of these, keep the Dead Languages very dead. In fine, two classes of young men are found in colleges, and there is a worldwide difference between them. There are those who *go* to college and those who are *sent* to college. Those who *go* obtain learning by works. Those who are *sent* obtain it by faith or vicariously. Many a young man pays his four years' term bills and is *coached* over the college curriculum, who has so little natural desire or affinity for learning of any kind that he might have been safely left in the Garden of Eden from the creation till this time and he never would have touched an apple on the tree of knowledge.

An Irishman has been defined to be a machine for turning potatoes into human nature. So our colleges are called factories for turning rich, good-for-nothing boys into worse than good-for-nothing men; and for turning good and healthy boys into invalids. If the student is idle and profligate, then it is averred, the college destroys the body, so that one set of students graduates with ruined health and another with ruined characters—one set for the sick-list and the other for the police-list. And as though all this were not enough to satiate the voracity of self-styled Progress, it is further alleged that a furor is to be aroused in behalf of a college education for females so that the gentler sex also may be tithed in health and decimated in character.

But croakers cannot change the order of nature, any more than Chinese gong beatings or Indian powwows can scare off eclipses. The fact still remains that there are today not less than twelve thousand students in the colleges of the United States and more than a hundred thousand in the colleges and universities of Europe—a power sufficient to take up the world by the four corners and bear it whither soever they will. These students will go forth as their predecessors have done, to be the lawyers, jurists, statesmen, divines, physicians, teachers to teach the present generation, or authors, endowing themselves with immortality, to teach the generations to come. For a prosperous voyage or for the perdition of shipwreck, they will hold the helm that guides the ship freighted with the destinies of mankind.

The students in our colleges, then, are an inchoate power of tremendous energy. They are more than legislators and prophets; for they legislate the legislators into power, and prophesy who the prophets shall be. The torch which they kindle will throw forward its lurid or its celestial light into another world. It becomes, then, a question of momentous import what the character of the graduates of our colleges shall be.

Is the public at large, then, more vitally interested in any general question—banks, tariffs, internal improvements, foreign relations—than in this? Does not this rather, like the *Primum Mobile* of the Ptolemaic system, encircle all the rest and impart motion and direction to them?

If college diplomas import anything; if they be not the veriest wastepaper to be found in the bales of the rag-merchant; if the inference which the little child drew, on seeing a list of college names with the letters A.B. and A.M. attached, who thought that the first class signified that its owners had learned the alphabet as far as B, and the second as far as M—this inference be not the correct one; then college diplomas do vouch and attest that their possessors have made at least respectable progress in the liberal arts and sciences.

Now I maintain that these same diplomas ought to be voucher and attestation that their holders are of good moral character; at the very least that they are not tiplers, gamblers, libertines, not profligates of any grade and hold no office of honor or profit in Satan's kingdom. No amount of talent or genius can consecrate or palliate villainy. They only render it so much the more portentous and fatal. Should Lucifer matriculate himself in any of our colleges or universities, doubtless he could make brilliant recitations, compose first-rate themes, and by literary and scientific proficiency bear off the Valedictory or English Oration. But still, if the college faculty, in plain sight of his foot and of the foul tracks he had been making, should give him a diploma, I think they ought, in view of their indifference to his character and of their greed for his money, to sign the parchment with a lighted roll of the brimstone of commerce, sweet to him, but a warning in the nostrils of mankind.

As in our natural life, the constitutional stamina and even the moral tendencies of the child are, to no small extent, inherited from the mother, so every graduate will carry through all his futurity, stamped on his mind and on his soul, impressions, characters, emblems, of the peculiarities, the mental mannerism of the institution whose plastic hand has given shape to his manhood and from whose copious bosom he has drawn his intellectual and moral nutriment.

If the college where a student's literary tastes have been formed, be renowned for the beauty, refinement, and elegance of its classical culture; for those delightful elocutionary and rhetorical charms which enwreath the chain of logic with the flowers of diction, whose music enchants the outward ear before the richer treasures of thought are laid upon the altar of the soul within, then the students whose ears have been attuned, whose sentiments have been affiliated to these linguistic melodies, will breathe through all their productions, whether oral or written, a glad undertone of music, aerial accompaniment, as of distant echoes from some happy land, and every cadence will be grateful and sweet as with the murmur of the Hyblæan bees. And so of any other marked excellence which a college may possess. Thus, in England, Oxford gives to the world the more scholarly, Cambridge the more mathematical minds.

If a college becomes notorious, not so much for the esteem of others as for its own self-esteem—a great Sanhedrin of literary Pharisees—then its students will become literary Gascons and will float into pomposity in proportion to the quantity and the virulence of the poison they daily drank, and wherever such students go, the enforced remark of every observer will be, "In the college where they graduated, what an able Professor of Arrogance they must have had."

So too, if an institution be famous, or rather, infamous, for the narrowness and bigotry of its faith—embracing a little segment only instead of the great circle of truth, two or three degrees instead of the whole three hundred and sixty; if under the name and guise of being academic it is only polemic and proselyting; if it suborns all new and glorious discoveries in order to maintain

some old creed which could never have been thought of after the existence of the discoveries it suborns, then body and soul of the graduates of such a college will be blotched and tattooed all over with spiritual birthmarks, more odious and repulsive to the moral sense than is the unsightliness of common birthmarks to the natural eye. What truth-lover would not a thousand times rather have brow and breast of his child all tattooed with gunpowder, as they do in the South Sea Islands, than to have his soul tattooed with a bigot's creed, teaching for Divine doctrines the commandments of men.

Thus the controlling characteristics of a college, whatever they may be, are reproduced in its graduates, mingled, of course, with every form of personal peculiarity or idiosyncrasy, but still visible and self-proclaiming wherever they go. Is not the relation, then, most intimate between colleges and the community? From college halls, graduates bring forth infection or healing and scatter them through the ranks of society. Emphatically, then, they ought to be free from all those vices which infest and scandalize the community, and they ought to be living samples of all those virtues which will turn our theoretical Christianity into a practical one.

First in the order of time and, considering its formative power over all true energies and excellences of character, it is hardly too much to say first in importance also, is temperance. I regard the young persons who control their appetites at table, or wherever else amid all the wonderful profusions of nature or the prodigious varieties of art, they are tempted to over-indulgence; who, except at proper times and in proper quantities, will rigidly abstain from viand and beverage and whatever else proffers the solicitations of flavor or savor, and will faithfully obey every law of health, strength, and longevity—I regard such persons as having already accomplished one-half, at least, of all the work of life, as being already half gentlemen, half heroes, and half Christians. On the other hand, I have but the smallest fraction of faith in the final perseverance of any of the saints, if this victory over appetite has not been achieved. I hold in high reverence the Old Testament ordinances for fasts. They proceeded upon the philosophic idea that whoever could control his appetite for food and beverage

could, as a general rule, master his other propensities, that the strength gained in this warfare would enable him to triumph over other temptations. The spirit of the law remains under the new dispensation, though its form is modified. The prohibition is not now confined to special days or seasons—as when the governor issues his proclamation for one fast day in the year, or when Mother Church exacts her forty days of Lent from Ash Wednesday to Easter—but it belongs to every meal, the true idea of a religious fast being to hold fast when you have eaten enough, and therein to stand fast, and in the chemistry of the stomach, always to see that a *vacuum* precedes a *plenum*. A man may repeat Litany and Liturgy every hour in the day and be as punctilious in his devotions as monks or nuns; yet if he will knowingly eat or drink what is unhealthful, whether in kind, in quantity, or in time; if he will suffer his alimentiveness to override his knowledge and his conscience, he has in him a principle of acquiescence, of yielding to known wrong (and of all the essences, as the Hon. John P. Hale says, the devil likes acquiescence best)—he has in him a principle of yielding to known wrong which only awaits an adequate temptation to make him acquiesce in any other wrong. And the only reason why such a man does not yield offhand to any temptation is not that he is not ready at any time for a bargain, but that the devil is too sharp to pay his present price, and therefore waits till some Presidential election or some panic in the money market, to get him for less.

It is most noticeable and significant that in the history of our Savior's temptation, that which assailed the appetite for food came first. Next came pride and next the love of wealth. But in assailing the gustatory appetite first, Satan proceeded upon the most philosophic principles. He acted upon this short syllogism: Derange and inflame that alimentive function and all the other bodily functions will be deranged and inflamed. Derange and inflame them all and virtue becomes impossible.

It is one of the most expressive and significant facts, how men always degrade their principles to a level with their practices. I have heard many men who claim to be temperate and even abstinent, except on club-nights, holidays, or other festive occa-

sions, maintain that it is good for the body to have an occasional debauch; which is very much as though St. Paul or St. John had left it on record that it would be especially good for the soul to have periodical bouts with blasphemy and cursing. What scores of men have I known who claimed to be pious, who were at least ostensibly pious in most of their organs and faculties, their feet pious in going to church, their life pious in devotion, their ear so pious as to reject anything but psalm tunes, but when you came to the inside of the mouth, to the palate, to the whole apparatus of gustation, Satan had that kingdom all to himself. Men invent ten thousand excuses for the indulgence of a pet appetite, but in the domain of personal habits, pets generally become powers and often potentates.

Doubtless God looks with complacency upon the lawful and healthful indulgence of all our appetites; but all unhealthful indulgence in unrighteous indulgence when knowingly yielded to is a conscious disobedience of God's law. The discovery of the science and the practice of the art of alimentation are among the grandest of human achievements, because all food properly digested and assimilated becomes vigor of muscle or power of brain, and will yield the greatest amount of all kinds of superiority—superiority of physical strength, of talent, and of moral intuition. It will yield that buoyancy and exultation which may be called the happiness of the nerves and this has the most intimate relation to the happiness of the soul. So to eat and drink and live as to secure health, strength, and longevity, and to avoid disease, pain, and slow suicide, is yet to be the foundation art of a Christian life.

But the violators of God's physical laws are often built of a meanness which makes their offense dishonorable as well as wicked. Hypocrisy doubles criminality. I could half forgive Adam for eating the forbidden apple if he had not been such a sneak as to hide himself and lay the blame on his wife—not for her good which would have been right, but for his own escape which was mean. To pretend to be what we ought to be but what we know we are not, is twice as wrong as not to be what we ought to be. To hold ourselves out to the world as not having com-

mitted the wrong we have committed is committing two wrongs. To drink intoxicating liquors, to chew or smoke the vile weed, and then to sham decency by deodorizing the foul body or by sheathing the breath with cloves or cologne or aromatic vinegar, though not so mature and full-grown an offense, yet it belongs to the same family with a villain's taking holy orders or a courtesan putting on the veil. All these detergences and defecations when practised to make others believe we are what we are not, only transfer the taint from the body to the soul, because the offender prefers that God should see the greater offense in the heart rather than that man should see the lesser one in the body. The whole philosophy and morality of all this matter was condensed into a single sentence by the ancient sage who when someone asked "What should I do to appear to the world to be a good man?" answered, "Be a good man."

I have the highest medical authorities for saying that, even in the present state of physiological science; one-half at least of all the bodily maladies and sufferings of men are preventable and therefore unnecessary; and in a large institution with which I have been personally acquainted for five years, I know that during the last half of this time, there have not been 50 percent of the illnesses and disabling ailments that invaded it during the first.

Is not the community at large, also, very deeply interested in the views which graduates shall entertain on questions of social, political, and moral science; in their theories on temperance, war, equality or aristocracy, liberty or bondage; whether they are Mormons or Free-lovers, Busters or Filibusters? It is alleged, and to some extent the allegation is true, though often greatly exaggerated, that the lore of the schools is barren of life's wisdom. The tendency of the age is to practical knowledge; but it should not be forgotten that the study of the chemist who analyzes soils is every whit as practical as that of the baker who makes bread; and out of the labors of the philologist who delves and burrows for etymological roots will hereafter come some of the most beautiful flowerings of poetry and eloquence. Knowledge of the past gives pleasure simply as knowledge of the past. It becomes positively useful only with reference to the future; and though

utility may not always be immediately delightful, it is always prolific of numberless and ever-multiplying delights. We cannot bless or benefit the past, but the future is fluid in our hands and we can make it what we will. We stand at the dividing line between the future and the past, that, by our efforts and institutions, we may shape the fluid possibilities of the present hour into insoluble and indestructible realities of future prosperity and blessedness. As the meridian of each successive moment passes over this inflowing future, the Almighty decree is that it shall crystallize into forms of solid and eternal unchangeableness; but He leaves it for us to say whether these forms shall be monuments of glory or structures of shame. The next moment of my life is ready to take any impress of honor or dishonor that my will may stamp upon it—one swing of the pendulum, one tick of the watch, one beat of the heart, and man nor God can alter it forever. Our efforts, then, should be instant and constant; in youth to prepare for the divine work of life, in maturity to execute it.

The public, then, is eminently interested that college students should be trained and indoctrinated in all the cardinal virtues of life, and as thoroughly purged and disinfected from their antagonist vices. Nothing is so great a guarantee and insurance of a life redolent with all the flowers and rich with all the fruits of virtue, as to begin such a life early. Let honor, temperance, duty, purity, piety, be the rudiments organized into the moral constitution. Assimilate no noxious ingredients, permit no decay or rottenness at the core of growth to be covered over and concealed, perhaps, by the rings or layers deposited in after years, but to remain forever at the heart as weakness and infection. Let there be early religion—its spirit, not its dogma; the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Religion above all the other growths is a *vernal* growth. Youth, life's springtime, is religion's seedtime, its germinating period. That which is sown in the autumn or germinated in the autumn of life, bears only thin and blasted ears, alike destitute of flavor and nutriment, almost certain to degenerate into formality which is bad enough, or into bigotry which is worse. No adult baptism can ever wash the vile marrow from the bones which was lodged there by an early life of impurity.

The Golden Rule will never be practiced in society until it is practiced in our colleges. The old English fagging system was the abomination of brutality. It was bear-baiting and bull-baiting, with little boys for the bears and bulls, with young men just ready to graduate for hounds, and with the headmaster for toreador. It was more shameful than were the old gladiatorial fights, themselves a disgrace to heathendom. I say more; for the fags were always the younger and weaker party, and were prohibited from striking back under penalties of torture which wild Indians would hardly inflict. Under the despotism of this fagging system the members of the older classes compelled the small boys belonging to the younger classes to stand, through the long winter evenings, in cold galleries, awaiting their call to run on their errands and do their bidding; could make them clean their rooms and brush their boots and perform their most menial services, and for any supposed omission or want of alacrity, would cuff and kick and cane them and toss them in a blanket, two at a time, *ad libitum*; nay, in the very wantonness of brutality, would roast them to fainting before a slow fire. Such atrocious school practices as these made the British officers who lately sacked Delhi and Lucknow with unheard-of barbarities, taking their prisoner Sepoys, nobly fighting for their liberty, and, in the presence of thousands of their countrymen drawn up in a hollow square to witness the horrible spectacle, bound them one by one to the muzzles of cannon and blew them into atoms. This spirit of the English people has been nursed and fostered by their barbarous sports at country fairs and shows, and their more barbarous system of fagging at school.

Connected with this fagging system and a necessary part of it, the pupils of the English schools enforce with the most relentless severity, the "Code of Honor," falsely so called, by whose laws one student is forbidden to make report to the teachers of another's misconduct. The two things belong together—a license to commit enormities and impunity for them extorted by fear. They are competitors for the prize of baseness. Those who are guilty of cruelty and vice need a general conspiracy for mutual secrecy and protection.

Another contemptible nuisance which is fostered in our colleges

and infests our neighborhoods, is the miserable practice of playing tricks or pranks or practical jokes as they are called. We all know that there are colleges in this country whose vicinity to poultry-yards and hen-roosts is more formidable than if every building on the college premises were a burrow for Samson's foxes. In these maraudings or caperings or antics, there is no originality or invention. I have not heard of a new one during the last century. There is no genius or poetry in them, or only monkey genius and idiot poetry. Hence they captivate only low and mean minds, or minds which, for the time being, are moving in low and mean spheres. What spark of genius, what profit or what pleasure can there be in abstracting linchpins from a traveler's wagon or a gentleman's carriage? Dunce as the offender must be, he will hardly wear his trophy as a breast-pin or watch-key. What, in opening gates and letting a neighbor's cattle into his corn? Should justice overtake the rogue, he will eat meat for a fortnight that died of repletion. What, in cutting off an ass's ears? Surely his own need no splicing, and he ought to have more fellow-feeling for a brother. A few years ago, some of my own students, smitten with a slight touch of rowdyism, went outside the dormitory and began such a serenade as a menagerie might give. Immediately all the windows flew up and there burst forth one huge, conglomerate roar, mingled of the bleating of calves, the squawking of geese, the quacking of ducks, the braying of donkeys, and with volunteer accompaniments *ad libitum*. The next morning in chapel in the presence of them all, I pardoned this animal oratorio on the ground that as the term had been running on for some weeks, they were probably homesick and were called for their mamas.

In view of these college tricks and jokes and cuttings-up generally, I have thought it might be well to avail ourselves of a service rendered to their authors by that great and good man, Dr. Paley. He has left us a large assortment, so to speak, of forms of prayer: a form of prayer for the sick, for the bereaved, for the bedridden, and so forth, and among the rest a form of prayer for a Natural Fool. Would it not be a good plan to collect this class of young men together and read to them, with becoming solemnity, Dr. Paley's prayer for a Natural Fool? Of course, they should be re-

quired to respond at the close of each sentence in a manner that would do credit to the Episcopal Service, "Good Lord, help us, Natural Fools."

If a man has predestinated himself to be a profligate, a debauchee, a villain, then, instead of conferring upon him the mighty power of education, he ought rather to be stripped of what power he has. If he will be a bad man, do not give him the glittering wings of education that he may fly abroad and dazzle and deceive. Let him be rather crippled, mutilated, dislocated, amputated, hamstrung. Do not give a vile man eloquence but the asphyxia. If honest, moral men, in the discharge of their duties, may encounter these members of the tiger family, let it be some cat or kitten even, and not the Bengal rascal.

By the time our children have become men and women, by the time their interests are inwoven with all the interests of society and their fate with its fate, then the young men now in college will fill all the great professions of life—medical, legal, juridical, classical—and will be among the rulers of the land, in state legislatures and in the halls of Congress. Have we no interest in the question, what manner of men shall preside over these functions of the body politic and the body social? And is not their character of more consequence than their learning; their honesty and uprightness of deeper import than their attainment or talent?

Here is the medical profession, conversant with all the philosophies of inorganic and insensate nature and with all the wonders of living structures and organisms. The true physician knows by what forces and assimilations the body is built up into strength, endurance, and longevity. He knows, too, by what ignorant or insane abuses these same forces of nature generate disease and madness and death—the mill grinding the miller instead of the corn; the teeth of the machine tearing the operative to pieces instead of heckling the flax or wool or hemp. Noble knowledge is that of the physician; if not divine in itself, yet a beneficent auxiliary of divine knowledge; if not creative, yet necessary to make creation a blessing to man upon earth. Substituting health for disease in the human frame helps on the moralist through one of his most difficult preliminaries, and he who renovates the body

takes no unimportant step towards regenerating the heart. I speak in no spirit of levity or irreverence when I say that the conversion of stomach and liver facilitates marvelously the conversion of the soul. Hygiene has a large intellectual and moral side. These mockeries of manhood and womanhood who only mope and whine, hypocondriac and bedridden, with no bones for a fulcrum and no muscles for leverage, their motory nerves all turned into sensory ones, and these the rendezvous of pain; for whose life nature must reduce all her temperatures to 76 degrees Fahrenheit and all her hardy nourishments to pulp; these whom God created men and women, but from whom vice and folly have extracted all hardihood and toughness, all elasticity and resilience—these, the wonderful alchemy which the physician discovers can turn into men and women again.

But prevention supersedes cure. Hence the scope of the medical art should be prophylactic rather than therapeutic. It should drive out the Philistine host of bodily diseases and deteriorations—fever, consumption, blindness, deaf-mutism, imbecility, idiocy, lunacy, and all the foul progeny of scrofulous and cancerous blood. All these came into the world through violations of God's laws; they can be sent out of the world by obedience to them. They are terrible punishments which God launches against physiological sins, personal or ancestral. For, however it may be in theology, there is no such thing as salvation without works in physiology. No! A thousand times, no! Let a man gormandize and tope and play the libertine, and when he comes to his ignominious death-bed, we know of no marvelous interference that will make his body a fit temple for the Holy Ghost. Maladies, dementations, demoniacal possessions, which the sorcerer with his incantations cannot expel, which the idolater with his bloody sacrifices cannot propitiate, which the one-sided pietist, with all his supplications attempts in vain to remove, the physician's knowledge translated into practical life can eternally exorcise from the bodies of men.

Invested with these prerogatives, the physician is admitted to our homes and our chambers, admitted to intimacies and familiarities from which the dearest and most trusted of friends are excluded. What barriers, then, but those of the most sacred honor

and fidelity, shall prevent him from being another serpent blasting another Eden! What infernal terrors surround him, if under pretence of healing the body, he pollutes the soul!

The function of the legal profession is to organize righteousness in the transactions and relations of men. It is into all the manifold affairs of life to call down honesty from heaven, and scourge dishonesty to hell. A true judge is a vicegerent of God upon earth, and true lawyers are his ministers, sitting on his right hand and on his left in his judicial kingdom. A lawyer's office ought to be only a sacred avenue leading to the sanctuary of the court, from which every crime-committing or crime-proposing client should be scourged away as if he carried the plague in his garments. The investigations and scrutinies of a court are designed for moral filtration, and if lies and frauds and perjuries and oppressions ever enter at one end of the courtroom, they should be arrested and sluiced off into the cesspool of Tophet, so that only the sweet and holy stream of equity and truth shall flow out of the other end. Ought a courtroom ever to be less than the asylum where the persecuted and the poor shall find shelter beneath the panoply of justice, and whence the villain and the apostate, the knave or miscreant of whatever type, however armed he may be in the gold of wealth or the brass of effrontery, shall be stripped of his disguises and sent ignominiously away? A lawyer ought never to espouse or prosecute a cause in order that plaintiff or defendant may prevail, but only in order that justice may be done. When violence and overreaching and forgery are in the street, shall the lawyer's office be the place to protect and consummate, or to rebuke and abolish them? Is a lawyer's office a mere theatrical dressing-room where violence is to be clothed with authority, where chicanery is to mantle fraud in the robes of justice, and where business lies are to be matured into judicial perjury?

I repudiate and abominate the doctrine that an advocate's allegiance to the throne of Eternal Justice can ever be merged and lost in his duties to his client. There is no relation possible to man that can rise above or go outside of his obligations to truth. It is said, indeed, that counselors do not know and are not bound to know what the law is, but to leave that to the decision

of the court. The very argument assumes a falsehood for its premise. In ninety-nine cases in every hundred, the counselor does know what the law is. In the vast majority of cases, it would be to suppose a counselor imbecile or insane to say that he does not know what justice is, and justice is the vitalizing principle of all law. In the vast majority of cases, a lawyer does know whether he is defending a cutthroat, a robber, or a knave, just as well as a farmer knows whether he is cultivating wheat, corn, or Canada thistles. Every lawyer who knowingly screens the guilty or defends the unjust becomes an accessory after the fact. He adopts the wrong and, by adopting it, recommits it. And how is it that a lawyer can sell his talents, his learning, nay his soul itself, and become a mercenary and scavenger in Satan's household and put on the livery of the bar to proclaim his occupation? Why would it not be every way as honorable, why would not the hireling money be as clean, should he let himself out by the month as chambermaid or scullion in a bagnio as to defend the outcasts who cohabit there? Why not as creditable to a lawyer to board himself on the slops and vomit of a drunkard as to do the same thing with the money obtained by defending drunkard or drunkard-maker? When the old form of indictments charged the accused with "being moved and instigated by wiles of the devil," the literal meaning of that phraseology was that he was thinking of some Old Bailey lawyer who would save his neck.

The natural growth of the lawyer is into the statesman. A statesman is a man who comprehends the social plan on which God created the human race. As Newton and Laplace and Bowditch had such mathematical ideas as God has respecting the stars, so the true statesman has such thoughts as God has respecting the welfare and grandeur of nations. The statesman knows that no great and good people can ever be formed out of a naked or a hungry one, and he therefore so orders their productive forces and economics, their internal and their external relations, as to keep poverty and Chartism out, and to bring independence and competency in. While he protects his own domain against filibusterism from abroad, he knows that he stands condemned before heaven and earth, if he does not protect foreign nations against

filibusterism from home. For those able to take care of themselves, he establishes justice; for those who are not, he founds charities. Like the English Alfred or the American Washington, he can bring a well-ordered commonwealth out of chaos. With his universality of knowledge, he foresees the scope and limit of every interest, whether minute or magnificent, and with his strength of reason and of will—as the prophet Isaiah says of Jehovah—he taketh up the isles as a very little thing. He shapes boundaries, he develops resources, he builds wisdom into institutions, adorning as he builds; he calls forth the incomputable wealth of souls by education, secures religious freedom to all, and from side to side of his country, he arches over it a banner, bright as the rings of Saturn, on one side of which is written, "Peace on earth and goodwill to men," and on the other, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also the same unto them," for all nations and all times to read. Thus he hastens the day when nations shall regard each other as members of one family and love shall abolish all antagonisms.

The true statesman hunts all immoralities out of society as a pioneer hunts out wild beasts. Whatever counterworks the economical prosperity of a people—lotteries, horse-racing, hound-kennels, warrens and forests for the chase; and still more, whatever counterworks the morals of a community—gambling hells, drunkeries, all distilleries for intoxicating drinks, the culture of opium, tobacco, and other narcotics, the city feculences of pollution—to exterminate these, he would leave plague and yellow-fever and cholera to their less harmful work. He assails them with amputation and cautery. He pursues and harries them, front, flank, and rear, with every weapon of legislative, judicial, and executive extirpation; for he lays hold on the eternal truth that, among all the resources for the production and accumulation of wealth known to the political economist, there is none so abundantly productive and accumulative as good morals.

The honest lawyer evolves naturally into the expansion and altitude of a statesman; the knavish one, just as naturally into the mere partisan politician who crawls on his belly and licks dust, and whose lifelong prayer begins, "Our Father, who art in

Hades." I think it is D'Alembert who says that the highest posts of honor in state and in church are like a pyramid whose top is accessible only to two kinds of animals, eagles and reptiles. The college graduate should be a man who will reach these eminences by soaring and not by crawling. It is in college more than everywhere else that young men learn to advance on the pinion of the eagle or by the wriggle of the snake.

Some of the most awful and heaven-defying vices that destroy the peace of society and turn all the sweets of life into bitterness are only college vices fullgrown—the public manhood of the academic childhood of guilt. The expert gamblers at state or national capitals are recruited from the ranks of those who played cards at college and studied Hoyle more than they did Euclid. The student of licentious reading and conversation grows into the fashionable roué or chronic debauchee as naturally as adders grow out of eggs; and if to physical sensualism he adds a sort of metaphysical turpitude, he becomes a political profligate, or a whole or half-way advocate of the doctrine of Free-love, that superfetation of diabolism on Polygamy. There is no such deadly enemy of mankind as a wicked, profligate genius equipped with learning, for he fascinates many of the noblest faculties of youth and thus leads them to rebel against the moral element in their nature, the noblest faculty of all; as the beguilements of Satan drew after him a third part of the host of heaven. Such a man embellishes with all the adornments of wit and elegance and imagination the paths that lead to the chambers of death. The Jack Sheppards in romances make the Jack Sheppards on the highway, and the Don Juans in poetry the Don Juans in society, as certainly as hyenas beget hyenas, or vultures, vultures. I well remember a set of college students who emulated Lord Byron's fiery and misanthropic genius and imitated their idol so far as to wear his shirt collars and to practice his amours. Now why should such incarnate vice be robed in the fascinations and armed with the glittering weapons of knowledge? Do we want the youthful geniuses of America to grow up into such characters as William Congreve or Richard Steele?

A few years ago, there were three ambassadors of these United

States, resident at European courts *at the same time*, who were all public, notorious drunkards—two of whom had hardly a lucid interval while they professed to represent their country abroad. Think you that these infamous toppers in after-life were not tipplers while in college? Think you, when they studied electricity and magnetism, they did not mistake demijohns for Lyden jars, and use brandy bottles for a Voltaic pile? They were the men to sit round a table and take shocks. They were the men, when returning to their rooms at night, who describe Hogarth's serpentine line of grace with topsy-turvy variations. And thus, my friends, the offences of the student's private room became at length the opprobrium of the nation.

That wisest and most valiant band of reformers this country has ever known—the glorious advocates of temperance—how have their divine labors for the redemption of mankind from the direst of all mortal curses, been baffled and brought to nothing by anti-temperance and non-temperance legislators and courts! It is a notorious fact respecting those judges who have been foremost in declaring all prohibitory liquor laws unconstitutional, that their public functions smell of their private habits. They uphold and stimulate the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks by the double encouragement of protection as judges and potation as men. They pronounce laws to be repugnant to the constitution of the state, when, in fact, it is only their own self-abused constitutions that are repugnant to the law. In nine cases out of ten, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the college life of these men foreshadowed the unalterable calamities which their judicial decisions have inflicted upon the world. The standard of college morals ought to be such, and it easily may be made such, that no undergraduate would dare to drink alcoholic beverages or to have them in his room, any more than he would venture to erect a lightning-rod on the top of his head and to take a walk in a thunder-storm.

What I affirm, therefore, is—and this is one point towards which all the preceding remarks converge—that college faculties ought never to graduate students who, by overt acts during their collegiate career, forbode disaster and disgrace to the world. By

so doing, they sink snags in the stream of human progress against which many a precious bark freighted with immortal riches, will strike and go down. The bestowment of the higher fount of knowledge upon worthy objects is binding as a sacrament, but the priest who knowingly celebrates the nuptials between learning and wickedness is guilty of sacrilege.

When a college sends home a great Dagon of intellect into the community, who by force of erudition and talent reaches the high places of judicature or statesmanship, and there perfidiously prostitutes his logic and eloquence to dethrone national justice and enthrone national iniquity; who debauches the public morals by suborning religion to become the nursing mother of national crimes; and who sets the most contagious and fatal of all examples before the young—that of a union between talent and intemperance or licentiousness—that college inflicts a wound upon the very vitals of the state for which the graduation of a thousand men of commonplace virtues can never atone.

I cannot dismiss this great subject, the relation of colleges to the community, without saying that I rejoice, inexpressibly rejoice, that the time has at length arrived when woman can receive those collegiate advantages hitherto bestowed only upon man. Too long, far too long, should we say, have the capabilities of woman for refining, adorning, purifying, and spiritualizing the race been neglected, did not the whole history of creation show that the higher perceptions of being always have the later development. From epoch to epoch in the chronicles of time, from stardust to stars, from mushrooms to cedars of Lebanon, from animalcules to man, we read, as in God's diary, how he has proceeded from the less perfect to the more perfect in the stupendous order of his evolutions. So the capabilities of woman, transcending those of man, come more slowly to maturity.

In the first tentative efforts of reformers to accord to woman those rights from which she has been so long unrighteously debarred, it was natural to expect mistakes, extravagancies, absurdity—sometimes, indeed, on so great a theme, sublimities of nonsense. For where or when has ever a great idea burst upon the world that it did not topple over some of the heads which strove to carry

it but were not large and strong enough to take its counterpoises with it? When men's ideas are too weighty for their brains, they must walk topheavy. Porters who mount too large a pack upon their heads will stumble. Hence the mind must not only be strong enough to carry the great thought, but broad enough to keep the center of gravity within the base. Thus the idea of religious liberty swung the French *savants* clean over from priestcraft into atheism. All over the world, the mighty ideas of political liberty have, at first, made men almost frantic and delirious, so that they became more or less anarchists before they became free men—actually more! In the same way the first noble and glowing inspirations respecting woman's elevation, prefigured her, not as a higher woman, but only as a man. Because man has achieved wealth, fame, power, on rostrums, in parliaments, in councils of state, or in voyages of discovery, the premature crude inference was, that woman must seek for admiration, renown, dominion, by the same means and on the same arenas. Because man has become great in manly ways, therefore woman was to imitate him, instead of becoming great in her own sweet womanly way. Hence the first demand was the obliteration of sex, forgetting the fact that in the wildness of this logic the sex had been obliterated before the demand. Hence, too, the clamorous appeal for promiscuity of occupation (I coin a detestable word to express a detestable idea), whether those occupations might pertain to land or sea, to house or field, to nursing chamber or council chamber, to cradle or ballot-box or cartridge-box.

My friends, is there aught that demands a larger amount of the grace of patience than to hearken with equanimity to the doctrine of an admixture or commixture of the sexes in regard to natural tendencies and adaptations, in regard to dress, occupation, aspiration, perfection in each? And if there be any spectacle more provocative of contempt than that of a man striving to be an amateur woman, is it not that of a woman striving to be an amateur man? As he may emasculate himself of all virile energy without putting on one womanly charm, so she may cast away all her gentleness and delicacy without gaining one manly token of strength. What a hateful metamorphosis would it be—the

Amazonian, hirsute, pachydermatous, and bassoon-voiced, and he in treble tones, affecting a heart soft as a curd and with girlish fingers caressing a velveteen chin.

It is said that a certain worthy woman, on the death of her husband at sea, once kept the ship's reckoning and brought it safely to port; certainly a very creditable act, but about as good an argument for woman-sailors and woman-commodores as because Joshua once demolished the walls of Jericho by the blowing of a certain sort of horns, therefore, when walled cities are besieged, all military engineers should use the same sonorous animal, not metal, instruments for their bombardment. Oh Hercules, how would your brawny arms look twirling a distaff? Oh Penelope, abandon not that beautiful, half-woven web in order to equip yourself for foreign wars with helmet and broadsword, with a shield on your left arm and a cradle for responsibilities under your right!

With what vehemence of antagonism do the ordinances of God and nature confront all this! Take the highest model man and model woman and instead of their converging into sameness as they ascend toward perfection, they diverge more and more into contrast. Add perfection after perfection of manliness and womanliness to each till they shall respectively become the masterpiece and paragon of creation, and all the more demonstratively and distinctively will each become each and not the other. The higher the majestic oak sends up its columnar and robust shaft into the sky, the broader it spreads around its towering branches, the more perfectly it becomes an oak; the more lovingly the embowering vine twined around its trunk, fastens its tendrils upon every limb, glows with fruitage, makes homes for singing birds and welcomes the denizens of the forest for repast, repose, and worship under its shade, the more perfectly it becomes a vine. Under shower and sunshine the bride-like vine grows nutrient, bountiful and queenly, while the bridegroom oak takes storm and thunderbolt, and should they strive to change functions and relations with each other, every bird and beast of the forest would shriek out against the blasphemy!

In person, in all physical attributes, we know that the highest

completeness in one sex becomes the highest monstrosity in the other. On what a different key has nature pitched the voices of man and woman so that what is manly in his tones becomes a bray in hers; and the gentleness that charms in female voices indicates fainting and syncope in the male. The eyelids are not womanly which never droop. Defying the omnipotence of superstition, were the Madonna to be painted with a beard, it would dethrone the fourth person in the Catholic Godhead.

Even at their point of nearest contact, the intellect, the logic of men is more inductive; it seeks its premises and forges its links more in the objective universe; the logic of woman is more intuitive, and the subjective mind is its arsenal. In their impelling forces, reason and utility preponderate more with him, emotion and enthusiasm with her. How different their faculties for perceiving and producing beauty and ornamentation, who needs to be told?

The souls of normally organized men and women are just as different as their bodies. Formed for mutual adaptation, unlikeness was an organic necessity. Men have only friendships for men; women have only friendships for women; but men and women have love for each other. Friendship is an earthly, but love is a heavenly tie. The one ultimates itself in social relations or business partnerships; the other, in the holiness of wedlock. The bravery of man displays itself in the impetuosity of deadly assaults; of woman in the long-sufferings of patience. Woman has more phosphorus in her brain than man. He is a cake made from unleavened dough; she has more yeast in her composition.

How unlike the love of father and mother for their children. She loves best whatever is most manly in her sons; he whatever is most womanly in his daughters. A father's children are external to himself and their fame is but an adjunct of his honor. A mother continues to remain, as at first, only an organic part of her children and her existence is merged in theirs. Even in religion, a man's submission under afflictive Providence is more philosophical and stoic; a woman's more blindly confiding and self-abandoning.

What impiety, then, what sacrilege to deny and flout these

diversities, organized and inwrought into the elementary components of being; and out of the necessary and beautiful distinctions of sexhood to make a stupid, vapid isomorphism, a oneness of nature, manners, dress, occupation, function, honor, beneficence, blessedness. No! The faithful development of men will make them more nobly men; the faithful development of women will make them more excelling women. Under the wise and united education of both, I believe all the business affairs of the world, all the utilities of science and the beauties of art, will gradually assort themselves into two great classes: into the severer, sterner, hardier, robuster occupations for him; into the more peaceful and gentle, the more reserved and unostentatious for her; he taking whatever is grim, savage, and intractable—the cleaning of Augean stables, the channelling of new riverbeds, the turning of quarries and mines and beds of coal and ore and gold inside out, and of mountains bottom side up, politics, and the execution of “wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God” against tyrant and bigot; but she, on the other hand, wooing and welcoming whatever is tranquil and peaceful, scattering gardens, Edens along the pathways of life; beautifying the home, the nursery; practicing the healing art for her own sex, for all children of both sexes; that better art, too, the health-preserving which supersedes the healing—training in the school up through all its gradations to the signing of college diplomas; espousing the sacred ministries of charity in all their yet-to-be-discovered forms, herself the blessed discoverer, dispensing by precept as well as by example the Gospel of Jesus Christ! Thus will the influences of woman be the aroma and not the miasma of her moral nature.

When this blessed work is done by conferring the highest education on woman, the world will have too exalted a conception of her excellences to think of her being elevated by confounding her natural adaptations and spheres of beneficence with those of man. When this work of education is done, there will be few if any who will bathe themselves in the hateful water of Salmacis—Ovid’s monster-making stream—in which whatever man or woman plunged, was no longer man or woman.

*"Abstain, as manhood you esteem,  
 From Salmacis' pernicious stream;  
 If but one moment there you stay,  
 Too dear, you'll for your bathing pay,  
 Depart, not man nor woman, but a sight  
 Disgracing both, a loathed Hermaphrodite." \**

Perhaps we may expect an occasional *lusus naturae*, acephalous or bicephalous, an anti-masculine man or an anti-feminine woman, he gelatinous and curd-like, having two hearts, but no liver; she plucky, but with a second liver instead of a heart.

Two things would compel me to meditate suicide—to be forced to be Herod's chief butcher in murdering all the children in Bethlehem under two years of age, or to be connected with a college whose function it should be to turn women into men. I so love and reverence the beautiful, graceful, modest nature of woman that I would not part with it, though she could have Lord Bacon's science put in its stead—if that brain must be mounted over a big, blustering, bellowing, balloting, bi-brachian, bi-fisted, bifurcate, a Bucephalus, or a Bucentaurus, a horse-woman or a buffalo-woman. But hardly less than an apotheosis, should I deem the honor of assisting to develop the excelling faculties of woman in her natural superiority over man and in making achievement follow aspiration.

But does any strife exist on this subject? I say, let it be composed after the true, Baconian, experimental method. Give men and women the fullest, worthiest, completest education, together, and leave the event in the hands of Divine Providence.

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\* Hermaphroditus, from Hermes and Aphrodite, Mercury and Venus, the most beautiful of the gods and goddesses; yet when blended in one, the most repugnant of Nature's abortions, the true type of a Man-woman or a Woman-man.

## APPENDIX F

### Resolutions on the Death of Mary Mann, February 11, 1887

An account of the resolutions adopted by a faculty committee at Antioch College upon the death of Mrs. Mary Peabody Mann, is published in *The Antiochian* [137:9-10] for February 1887. A letter of condolence, enclosing the resolutions, which was written by President Daniel Albright Long to Mrs. Mann's son, George Combe Mann, is also given. President Long wrote in part:

"I received your telegram informing me of the death of your honored mother. President Mann left us August 2, 1859. Your mother stood by his side until the wheels of life stood still; afterwards she wrote: 'The strong brain found it hard to die. At last God mercifully gave him rest, but "death" is not the word for such a translation.' The tender devotion of your mother during the twenty-seven years of her widowhood cannot be described. . . .

"I appointed the following professors of Antioch College to draft suitable resolutions to be presented in the College Chapel the day your mother is buried: Evelyn Darling, J. D. Chambers, F. H. Tufts, A. R. Wells, and J. P. Miller. Thus you see the faculty and students desire to unite in paying this last sad tribute to her memory. She came West with the greatest educator of the nineteenth century. She is one of the most beloved in memory of the laborers during the earliest missionary seedtime with the College and she will have her full reward of sheaves at the harvest."

#### *Resolutions by the Antioch Faculty*

"Mrs. Mary Mann, whose funeral services will take place today from her late residence at Jamaica Plains, Massachusetts, became the wife of Horace Mann, LL.D., the first president of Antioch College, May 1, 1843. During the remainder of her husband's remarkable career she was by his side as wife, mother of his children, daily companion, and bosom friend.

"Whether she saw her husband giving instructions to teachers in log-cabin schoolhouses, during addresses on the Commons of Boston, pleading for human rights in the halls of Congress, or receiving the plaudits of the greatest educators of Europe during their tour together through the fatherland, or standing at the head of Antioch College and pleading for coeducation for all races without regard to sex or sectarian test of fellowship, she was always ready to give her own aid with dignity and honor.

"On the death of her husband in 1859 at this place, she bowed in humble submission to the will of the All-Father and did what she could to render permanent her husband's best work, and progress his God-given work, publishing his *Life* in one volume; his *Sermons and Lectures* in two volumes; his *Reports on Education* in two volumes; *Thoughts for a Young Man*, one volume; *Thoughts for a Young Woman*, one volume; and *Selected Thoughts*. She frequently wrote for the *Unitarian Review* and other leading periodicals.

"Her good work in behalf of the African, the Indian, the poor, the weak of all races, her tender sympathy for every living thing, endeared her to all who knew her.

"Her interest in the welfare of Antioch College remained unabated to the last; therefore, be it

"*Resolved* by the faculty, students, and friends of this institution,

"First, that we thank God for the gift of this faithful woman to the world for eighty years and for the health of her body, abiding faith, and strength of intellect which enabled her to do a great work for God and humanity.

"Second, that we cherish her memory and study the words of wisdom which she wrote and collected in order that we may be the better prepared to make real some portion of her hope for humanity.

"Third, that while we do not mourn that God took her to himself after her work on earth was ended, yet we would sympathize with all those who are bereft of such a gifted companion and devoted mother and true friend."

## APPENDIX G

### Deed to the Horace Mann Farm, Yellow Springs, Ohio

The records of Greene County, Ohio, show that Horace Mann held three properties at Yellow Springs, two of which were purchased shortly before his death. The most important of these properties is the Horace Mann Farm, a part of which is now included in Glen Helen. The following is a certified copy of the deed to the Farm as recorded in Vol. 33-H, No. 2, p175, in the Recorder's Office of Greene County, Ohio:

#### RECORDED DEED

Know all men, that I, Robert S. Bull of Yellow Springs, Township of Miami of the County of Greene and State of Ohio, yeoman, in consideration of the sum of seven thousand dollars in hand paid by Horace Mann of said township each has bargained and sold and do hereby grant, bargain, sell, and convey unto the said Horace Mann, his heirs and assigns forever, the following premises situate in the County of Greene in the State of Ohio, and bounded and described as follows:

Part of section thirteen, township four, range eight, beginning at a stone in the east line of said section, South East corner to Doct Ehrman thence with said line S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  West 145.3 to a stake corner to M. Corry, white oak 24 inches diameter, bearing east three links, thence S. 55 W. 57.6 poles to a white oak, thirty inches diameter, thence S. 79 W. 13.5 poles to a pigeon oak, 15 inches diameter, thence N.  $67\frac{1}{2}$  W. 32.5 poles to a black walnut, 24 inches diameter, thence N. 49 W. 28.4 poles to a stake in the old Yellow Springs road, a white oak 24 inches diameter bearing South 73 E. 25 links and a white oak 20 inches diameter S. 42 W. 24 links, thence N.  $17\frac{1}{2}$  W. 39.3 poles to a lynn 15 inches diameter, thence N. 62 E. 27.3 poles to a stake, thence N.  $27\frac{1}{2}$  W. 109.5 poles; thence S.  $89\frac{1}{2}$  E. 165.5 poles to the beginning estimated to contain one hundred and fifty acres more or less, it being the same farm conveyed by Robert Moodie to said Bull, reference to said Moodie deed being had;

To have and to hold said premises, with the appurtenances unto the said Horace Mann, his heirs and assigns forever.

And the said Robert S. Bull for himself and his heirs does hereby covenant with the said Horace Mann, his heirs and assigns, that he is lawfully seized of the premises aforesaid.

And that the premises are free and clear from all incumbrances whatever, and that he will forever warrant and defend the same with the appurtenances, unto the said Horace Mann, his heirs and assigns against the lawful claims of all persons whomsoever.

In testimony whereof, the said Robert S. Bull and Anne Elizabeth Bull who hereby relinquishes her right of dower in the premises, have hereunto set their hands and seals this first day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight-hundred and fifty-six.

Signed, sealed, and acknowledged  
in presence of:

J. W. HAMILTON  
CHARLOTTE M. MANN

ROBERT S. BULL (SEAL)  
ANNE E. BULL (SEAL)

The State of Ohio, Greene County, ss.

Before me, J. W. Hamilton, a Justice of the Peace within and for the County aforesaid, personally came Robert S. Bull, the grantor in the foregoing conveyance and acknowledged the signing and sealing of the same to be his voluntary act and deed, for the uses and purposes therein expressed. And the said Anne E. Bull, wife of the said Robert S. Bull, being examined by me separate and apart from her said husband and the contents of said deed being fully made known to her upon such separate examination, declared that she did voluntarily sign, seal, and acknowledge the same, and that she is still satisfied therewith.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this first day of May in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-six.

J. W. HAMILTON, *J. P.* (SEAL)

Received for Record, May 1, 1856  
Recorded, May 3, 1856

M. W. TRADER,  
*Recorder, Greene County.*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Horace Mann at Antioch

BY ELEANOR CRAVEN FISHBURN

This bibliography deals primarily with material relating to Horace Mann at Antioch, but a few general references have been included to furnish a background for understanding the Antioch period. The most useful references are starred; those reprinted in this volume are double-starred.

#### *Basic Sources*

*Library collections*—For the period at Antioch College, the most complete library collection is at the Horace Mann Library, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Items in this library which are out-of-print or not generally available elsewhere are marked "ACL" in the bibliography. This library has the catalogs and early records of the College; also files of the college publications including: *The Antioch College Bulletin*; *Antioch Alumni Bulletin*; *Antioch Notes*; *The Antiochian* and *The Blaze*, student publications; and the college handbook entitled *Antioch "A" Book*. The collection also includes a file of the *Christian Palladium*, official organ of the Christian Church in America, which contains much valuable material on the Horace Mann period at Antioch, especially the issues from 1852 to 1860.

Other large collections are at: Boston Public Library and the State House Library, Boston; Widener Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; New York Public Library and Columbia University Library, New York City; Library of Congress and United States Office of Education Library, Washington, D. C.

*Bibliographies*—As a contribution to the 1937 Centennial, the Massachusetts State Department of Education, in cooperation

with the Boston School Department, has published a 54-page *Selective and Critical Bibliography of Horace Mann*, which also includes biographical notes.

The March 1936 *Journal of the National Education Association* (Volume 25, p93-96) contains an annotated bibliography of fifty items entitled "The Life and Times of Horace Mann" by Eleanor Craven, referring to basic sources of material on Horace Mann including portraits and memorials.

In December 1858 Henry Barnard in his *American Journal of Education* (Volume 5, p651-52) gives a "List of Publications by Horace Mann, LL.D." But by far the most complete of the earlier bibliographies was compiled by Horace Mann's son, B. Pickman Mann, which contains over 700 items and is published in the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education 1895-96*, Volume 1, p897-927.

Valuable reading lists are also included in items 45 and 84 of this bibliography.

*Manuscripts and papers*—The Mann Papers, several thousand letters written to Horace Mann or by him, are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. This collection also includes the manuscript of his private journal or diary begun shortly after he became secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. The Dedham Historical Society, Dedham, Massachusetts, has correspondence and manuscripts relating to Mann's legal career.

*Reports and proceedings*—Valuable background material will be found in: *Annual Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education*, especially for 1895-96 and 1896-97; *Proceedings of the National Education Association*, especially for 1858, 1894, 1896, 1906, and 1937; and Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, especially for December 1858.

*Encyclopaedias*, such as the following, now in print, give brief accounts of Mann's life: *Cyclopedia of Education*, edited by Paul Monroe, Macmillan, 1918; *Dictionary of American Biography*, Scribner's, 1933; *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Macmillan, 1933; and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1929.

By consulting the *Readers' Guide* and *Education Index*, the student will gain access to the large and valuable periodical literature on Horace Mann, in addition to what is listed in this bibliography.

*Educational policy*—For a statement of educational policy in the United States as it has evolved from the foundations laid by Horace Mann and his contemporaries, read the publications of the Educational Policies Commission, appointed by the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, including: *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy*, 1937, 129p; and *The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy*, 1938, 128p. Later studies will deal with educational economics and the social services of schools.

### *Studying Horace Mann's Life*

To understand the forces which influenced Horace Mann during the years preceding his service at Antioch, the reader will find the following references in this bibliography of value:

On his early life and education, Mary Mann's *Life*, 58; Mortimer Blake's *History of Franklin*, 25; the pamphlet on the Litchfield Law School, 36; and Henry Barnard's biographical sketch, 22, will be helpful. For his years as lawyer and statesman, consult the following biographies: Hinsdale, 45; Hubbell, 50; and Williams, 84. For the period of the secretaryship, Mann's own writings, as described in the following section of this bibliography are the best spokesmen. Culver's *Horace Mann and Religion in the Massachusetts Public Schools*, 30, is a scholarly account of Mann's efforts to eliminate sectarian teaching from the schools. Merle Curti, 31, ably summarizes Mann's social ideals. Martin's *Evolution of the Massachusetts School System*, 59, traces the growth of the democratic ideal as set forth by Horace Mann.

### *Writings of Horace Mann*

The most significant of Horace Mann's writings include: first, the twelve *Annual Reports* during his secretaryship from 1837-1848, the most famous of which were the fifth, portraying the advantages of an education, and the seventh, recording his obser-

vations of European schools which led to the bitter controversy with the Boston schoolmasters; second, the *Common School Journal*, a semimonthly of 16 pages which Mann founded in 1838 and edited until December 1848; and third, his lectures which have been widely published in educational journals and as separate pamphlets. Two of his most eloquent lectures have been reprinted during the 1937 Centennial: the "Lecture on Education" published in *Horace Mann: His Ideas and Ideals*, 66; and the celebrated "Fourth of July Oration" of 1842, reprinted in *Go Forth and Teach*, 28. The Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio, printed in 1937 a limited edition of Horace Mann's *Letters on Slavery*.

In 1891 Mrs. Mary Mann and George C. Mann published the Reports in a five-volume edition—*The Life and Works of Horace Mann*, 57—which also included excerpts from the *Common School Journal*, many of his lectures, and *The Life*, 58. This edition forms the nucleus for a study of Mann's great service. The addresses reprinted in this book are taken from Volume 5 of the *Life and Works*.

In connection with the celebration in 1939 of the founding of the first public normal school by Horace Mann at Lexington, the reader will be interested in *The First State Normal School in America*, 68, which describes Mann's pioneer service to teacher education. Mann's address at the dedication of the first normal-school building in America at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, August 19, 1846, is given in Henry Barnard's *Normal Schools*, 23.

For the period of Mann's presidency at Antioch College, the following is a chronological list of his most significant writings:

Dedicatory and Inaugural Address at Antioch College, 1853

Demands of the Age on Colleges, 1854

"Code of Honor," Falsely So Called, 1856

Intemperance, Profanity, Tobacco, 1856

Address to the Sunday-School Children of Yellow Springs, 1857

Baccalaureate Address of 1857

Baccalaureate Address of 1858

Relation of Colleges to Community, 1858

Baccalaureate Address of 1859

Twelve Sermons Delivered at Antioch College

Information about the Antioch writings is given below and also about additional writings which are quoted in the text:

[1] MANN, HORACE. "Address Delivered to the Sunday-School Children of Yellow Springs, in the College Chapel, March 8, 1857." *Christian Palladium* 26: 74-77, April 1857; concluded, 26: 83-87, May 9, 1857.

An elaboration of "The Letter to School Children" written in July 1846, which is published in abridged form in item 66 of this bibliography, and also in *The Journal of the National Education Association* for April 1937, Vol. 26: 107-108.

\*\*[2] MANN, HORACE. *Baccalaureate Address Delivered at Antioch College, 1857*. New York, Fowler and Wells, 1857. 61p. ACL.

Also in *Life and Works of Horace Mann*, 57, Vol. 5: 457-99; and in *Lectures on Various Subjects*, 10.

\*\*[3] MANN, HORACE. "Baccalaureate Address Delivered at Antioch College, 1859." *Life and Works of Horace Mann*, 57, Vol. 5: 503-24; also in *Life of Horace Mann*, 58: 554-75.

\*\*[4] MANN, HORACE. "College Code of Honor: Address to the Students of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, by Horace Mann, LL.D., President." *American Journal of Education*, Vol. 3: 66-70, March 1857.

Same, under title "'Code of Honor,' Falsely So Called" in *Life of Horace Mann*, 58, Appendix B: 585-96.

\*\*[5] MANN, HORACE. *Demands of the Age on Colleges*. New York, Fowler and Wells, 1857. 86p.

Also in *Life and Works of Horace Mann*, 57, Vol. 5: 403-54; and in *Lectures on Various Subjects*, 10.

[6] MANN, HORACE. *Few Thoughts for a Young Man*, A. Boston, Horace B. Fuller, 1871. New Edition, 91p.

A lecture delivered in 1849 before the Boston Mercantile Library Association. "Nothing the author ever wrote has been so univer-

sally popular." This edition also includes "Two Letters in Reply to Young Men Asking Special Advice."

[7] MANN, HORACE. *Few Thoughts on the Powers and Duties of Woman: Two Lectures*. Syracuse, Hall, Mills, and Co. 1853. 142p.

"Education, I say emphatically, is woman's work—the domain of her empire, the sceptre of her power, the crown of her glory."

[8] MANN, HORACE. *Intemperance: Two Lectures on*. Syracuse, Hall, Mills, and Co. 1852. 127p.

Lecture I—Effects of Intemperance on the Poor and Ignorant; Lecture II—Effects of Intemperance on the Rich and Educated. Also in *Lectures on Various Subjects*, 10.

\*\*[9] MANN, HORACE. "Intemperance, Profanity, Tobacco." *Life of Horace Mann*, 58, Appendix C: 596-601.

Report and Resolutions drawn up at a meeting of the Ohio State Teachers' Association, Columbus, Dec. 27, 1856.

[10] MANN, HORACE. *Lectures on Various Subjects*. New York, Fowler and Wells, 1859. 642p. Portrait. ACL. Each lecture separately paged.

Includes: Few Thoughts for a Young Man; Effects of Intemperance on the Poor and Ignorant; Effects of Intemperance on the Rich and Educated; Powers and Duties of Woman; Demands of the Age on Colleges; Baccalaureate Address of 1857.

\*\*[11] MANN, HORACE. "Relation of Colleges to the Community." *New York Herald* 23: 5, col. 3, October 9, 1858; also *New York Daily Tribune* 18: 5, col. 5, October 8, 1858. Newspaper accounts of the address published in Appendix E from manuscript.

[12] MANN, HORACE. "School Teachers and Superintendents." *Proceedings of the National Education Association* 1906: 467-71.

Opening and closing remarks by Horace Mann as president of a Convention of Teachers and Superintendents of Public Schools,

Philadelphia, October 17-18-19, 1849. Same, *American Journal of Education*, Vol. 24: 330-36, 1873.

\*[13] MANN, HORACE. "The Teacher's Motives." *Proceedings of the National Teachers' Association*, Vol. 1, 1857: 107-34.

Address before the National Teachers' Association, now National Education Association, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1858. This lecture had previously been delivered at over thirty conventions or associations of teachers in seven states. "All the high hopes which I do avowedly entertain of a more glorious future for the human race, are built upon the elevation of the teacher's profession and the enlargement of the teacher's usefulness."

[14] MANN, HORACE. *Thoughts Selected from the Writings of Horace Mann*. Boston, H. B. Fuller, 1867. 240p. ACL.

"I hold education to be an organic necessity of a human being."

\*\*[15] *Twelve Sermons Delivered at Antioch College*. Boston, Ticknor and Fields, 1860. 314p. In ACL, Congressional and Harvard University Libraries.

The first two Sermons are reprinted on pages 393 to 428.

### *Books and Pamphlets*

[16] ALLEN, IRA W. *History of the Rise, Difficulties and Suspension of Antioch College*. Columbus, John Geary & Son, 1858. 240p. + a 67-page "History of the Christian Church of Yellow Springs, Ohio." ACL.

A highly biased and inaccurate account to which *The Rejoinder* by Eli Fay, 35, is a reply. It was written from the sectarian point of view by a faculty member embittered because not reappointed to his chair at Antioch.

[17] ANTIOCH COLLEGE. *Dedication of Antioch College, and Inaugural Address of Its President, Hon. Horace Mann: with Other Proceedings*. Yellow Springs, Ohio, Dean, 1854. 132p. ACL.

\*[18] ANTIOCH COLLEGE. *Educating for Democracy: A Symposium*. Yellow Springs, Ohio, Antioch Press, 1937. 148p.

Proceedings of the Horace Mann Centennial Conference held at Yellow Springs, Ohio, October 16 and 17, 1936, in connection with the dedication of the bronze statue of Horace Mann given by Hugh Taylor Birch.

\*\*[19] ANTIOCH COLLEGE. *Memorial Exercises for the Centenary of the Birth of Horace Mann to be Held in Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, June 16, 1896*. Yellow Springs, Ohio, 29p. Pamphlet.

An invitation to friends and students of Antioch College to attend the exercises; includes brief statements on early presidents of the College: Horace Mann, Rev. Thomas Hill, Dr. Austin Craig, Dr. George W. Hosmer, Dr. Edward Orton. The statement by George L. Carey is reprinted in this volume, pages 472-76.

\*[20] ANTIOCH COLLEGE FACULTY. *Testament of Faith: a Horace Mann Play*. New York, Dramatists Play Service, 6 E. 39th St., 1937. 100p.

Presented at the October 16, 1936, Horace Mann Conference at Antioch College and at the Detroit convention of the National Education Association, July 1, 1937. See also 44.

\*[21] BAGLEY, WILLIAM C. *A Century of the Universal School*. New York, Macmillan, 1937. 85p.

Kappa Delta Pi Lecture Series. Gives a valuable estimate of the importance and influence of Horace Mann's work.

\*[22] BARNARD, HENRY. "Horace Mann." *American Journal of Education* 5: 611-45, December 1858. Portrait.

Excellent biographical sketch.

[23] BARNARD, HENRY. *Normal Schools, and Other Institutions, Agencies, and Means Designed for the Professional Education of Teachers*. Hartford, Conn. Tiffany, 1851.

Horace Mann's address at the dedication of the first normal-school building in America at Bridgewater, Mass., August 19, 1846, is given in Part I: 200-14.

[24] BELL, W. A. "Horace Mann at Antioch College." *Proceedings of the National Education Association* 1896: 72-74.

Address before the National Education Association by a student under Horace Mann. See also 46.

[25] BLAKE, MORTIMER. *A History of the Town of Franklin, Massachusetts*. Franklin, 1879.

Includes picture of Horace Mann's birthplace.

[26] BURNETT, J. F. "Horace Mann: Christian Statesman and Educator." *Booklet Five* published by American Christian Convention, Dayton, Ohio. ACL.

Combines sketches of Elias Smith and Horace Mann, p27-42. Photo of Antioch College.

[27] BURTON, MARY JUNE. "Antioch College and Its Cooperative Program." *Antioch College Bulletin*, Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1937. 12p.

\*[28] COMMITTEE ON HORACE MANN CENTENNIAL. *Go Forth and Teach: The Oration Delivered before the Authorities of the City of Boston, July 4, 1842, by Horace Mann; Also Other Materials Relating to His Life*. Washington, D. C., National Education Association, 1937. 148p. illus.

Contains a sketch on Horace Mann by Eleanor Craven Fishburn and one on Hugh Taylor Birch by Joy Elmer Morgan. 3000 copies of this edition were printed.

[29] COMPAYRÉ, GABRIEL. *Horace Mann and the Public School in the United States*. New York, Crowell, 1907. 134p.

[30] CULVER, RAYMOND B. *Horace Mann and Religion in the Massachusetts Public Schools*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929. 301p.

[31] CURTI, MERLE. *The Social Ideas of American Educators*. New York, Scribner's, 1935. 613p.

Volume 10 of the Report of the American Historical Association Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools. Excellent discussion of "Education and Social Reform; Horace Mann," p101-38.

[32] DILLS, R. S. *History of Greene County Together with Historic Notes on the Northwest, and the State of Ohio*. Dayton, Ohio, Odell & Mayer, 1881. 1018p. ACL.

The history of Antioch College is given on pages 679 to 708. This is an abridgment of material listed in item 69.

[33] "Educational Fourth Dimension, An." *Antioch College Bulletin*, Vol. 34, No. 5, February 1938. 20p. illus.

The Antioch cooperative plan of vocational guidance.

[34] ELLIOTT, EUGENE B. "Horace Mann—An Exponent of Education for a Richer and Fuller Life." *Proceedings of the National Education Association* 1937: 292-95.

Address before the Department of Elementary School Principals of the National Education Association, New Orleans, La., February 1937.

[35] FAY, ELI, editor. *Rejoinder to I. W. Allen's Pseudo "History" of Antioch College*. Yellow Springs, Ohio, Longley Brothers, 1859. 228p. ACL.

See comment under Allen, Ira W., 16.

[36] FISHER, S. H. *The Litchfield Law School, 1775-1833*. Tercentenary Commission of Connecticut, New Haven, Yale University Press. 1933. Pamphlet.

Mann entered this school after leaving Brown University. It was the first law school in America. Many of the famous statesmen of our early history studied there.

[37] GOLDMARK, JOSEPHINE, and HOLLMAN, A. H. *Democracy in Denmark*. Washington, D. C., National Home Library Foundation, 1936. 345p.

The practical working out in Denmark of the democratic ideals set forth by Horace Mann through the cooperative use of human and natural resources.

[38] HAMMOND, W. A., and HANCHETT, D. S. "Chemical Education, Industrial Contact and Research in the Antioch Program." *Antioch College Bulletin*. 16p. illus.

Reprinted from *Journal of Chemical Education* 8:2003-15, October 1931.

[39] HARRIS, WILLIAM TORREY. "Horace Mann." *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1895-96*, 1: 887-97.

Valuable discussion of Mann's educational ideals in an address before the National Education Association, Buffalo, N. Y., July 1896. See also 46 and 75 of this bibliography.

\*[40] HARWOOD, W. S. *Life and Letters of Austin Craig*. New York, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908. 394p. illus. ACL.

Introduction and Reminiscences of Antioch College by Edward Everett Hale. Chapter IX, "Antioch and Horace Mann," p153-68. Dr. Craig was a friend of Horace Mann and one of the early presidents of Antioch.

[41] HAYES, CECIL B. *The American Lyceum: Its History and Contribution to Education*. United States Office of Education Bulletin No. 12, 1932. 72p.

The lyceum or public lecture was a popular diversion of the people in Mann's day who had few books to read and little leisure to read them. Mann made the most of this agency of adult education.

\*\*[42] HENDERSON, ALGO D. "A Continuing Heritage: Report of the President, September 1937." *Antioch College Bulletin* Vol. 34, No. 1, September 1937. 45p.

[43] HENDERSON, ALGO D. "Curriculum Provision for the Individual in Antioch College." *Proceedings*, Institute for Administrative Officers of Higher Institutions, 1932: 79-97.

[44] HENDERSON, ALGO D. "Horace Mann Play, Testament of Faith, Some Introductory Remarks on." *Proceedings of the National Education Association* 1937: 124-28.

The Antioch play, "Testament of Faith," was given at the Detroit convention of the National Education Association, July 1937. See also 20.

\*[45] HINSDALE, B. A. *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States*. New York, Scribner's, 1937. 326p.

Centennial reprint of a valuable biography copyright in 1898. Pages 242-65 cover the Antioch period.

\*[46] "Horace Mann, Addresses on." *Proceedings of the National Education Association* 1896: 52-74.

Commemorative session at the Buffalo convention of the National Education Association, July 1896, on the centennial of Horace Mann's birth. Includes speeches by Wm. T. Harris, 39; Nathan C. Schaeffer; Henry Sabin; F. Louis Soldan; Aaron Gove; James M. Greenwood; and W. A. Bell, 24. Excerpts from these tributes will be found in 144.

\*[47] HORACE MANN SCHOOLS OF NEW YORK CITY. *Those Who Bear the Torch: A Pageant*. Washington, D. C., Committee on the Horace Mann Centennial, 1937. 160p. illus.

This pageant, which includes five episodes and a finale, was written and presented May 4 and 5, 1937, by the students to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Horace Mann Schools and the 100th anniversary of Mann's entrance into education. The episodes, including Episode V on "New Opportunities—Horace Mann," are so arranged that they may be produced separately by highschool, college, or community players. Directions for staging are included.

[48] HUBBART, HENRY CLYDE. *The Older Middle West 1840-1880*. New York, D. Appleton Co., 1936. 305p.

Sponsored by the American Historical Association, this history covers the social, economic, and political life, and sectional tendencies before, during, and after the Civil War.

\*[49] HUBBELL, GEORGE ALLEN. "Horace Mann and Antioch College." *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 14: 12-27, January 1905. ACL.

A valuable short account of Horace Mann's career at Antioch. Contains (p19) a photograph of President's House at Antioch.

[50] HUBBELL, GEORGE ALLEN. *Horace Mann, Educator, Patriot and Reformer: A Study in Leadership*. Philadelphia, Wm. F. Fell Co., 1910. 285p. Illustrations and portrait.

Author was formerly a professor at Antioch and has written many articles on Horace Mann. Chapter 8, p171-205, covers the Antioch period.

\*[51] HUBBELL, GEORGE ALLEN. *Horace Mann in Ohio: A Study of the Application of His Public School Ideals to College Administration*. Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology and Education, Vol. 7, No. 4. New York, Macmillan, 1900. 70p.

Contains valuable letters to Hubbell by students of Horace Mann living at the time of the study.

\*\*[52] *Inauguration of the Statue of Horace Mann, in the State-House Grounds, Boston, Massachusetts, July 4, 1865*. Boston, Walker, Fuller & Co., 1865. 29p. with photograph of statue. In Congressional Library.

Includes addresses of Governor Andrew, John D. Philbrick, President Hill, Dr. S. G. Howe, and Others.

[53] JENKINS, RALPH C., and WARNER, GERTRUDE CHANDLER. *Henry Barnard: An Introduction*. Hartford, Conn., Connecticut State Teachers Association, 1937. 118p.

Henry Barnard, one of America's greatest educators, was a warm friend of Horace Mann. The two worked together for many years, Barnard in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and Mann in Massachusetts. This readable biography was issued for the 1938 Henry Barnard observance.

[54] LANG, OSSIAN HERBERT. *Horace Mann: His Life and Educational Work*. New York, E. L. Kellogg, 1893.

[55] LIVINGSTON, J. "Horace Mann, Formerly of Massachusetts, Now President of Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Greene County, Ohio." *American Portrait Gallery*, New York, 1854. Vol. 3, Part 3: 178-223. Portrait.

[56] LONG, DANIEL ALBRIGHT. *Sketch of the Legal History of Antioch College together with the Correspondence between D. A. Long and Rev. O. J. Wait*. Dayton, Ohio, Press of Christian Publishing Ass'n., 1890. Pamphlet, 32p. ACL.

History of the alliance between the Christians and Unitarians at Antioch College.

\*[57] MANN, MARY, and GEORGE C., editors. *Life and Works of Horace Mann*. Boston, Lee and Shepard, 1891. Five volumes.

Vol. 1, Life of Horace Mann by His Wife. 609p.

Vol. 2, Prospectus of the Common School Journal; Lectures on Education; Annual Reports for 1837 and 1838; Appendix. 571p.

Vol. 3, Annual Reports for 1839-1844. 466p.

Vol. 4, Annual Reports for 1845-1848; Fourth of July Oration Delivered in Boston 1842. 403p.

Vol. 5, Educational Writings, Containing Contributions to the Common-School Journal; and Addresses of the President of Antioch College; Appendix Contains a Review of Horace Mann's Work and Writings by Félix Pécaut. 573p.

\*[58] MANN, MARY PEABODY. *Life of Horace Mann by His Wife*. Washington, D. C., National Education Association, 1937. 609p. Portrait. Centennial edition in facsimile.

An invaluable source. Antioch period, p402-575, including text of the 1859 Baccalaureate, 554-75. 4500 copies of this edition were printed.

[59] MARTIN, GEORGE H. *Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System: A Historical Sketch*. New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1894. 284p.

Horace Mann's work discussed on p157-81.

[60] MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. *Horace Mann Centennial 1837-1937*. Boston, 1937. 202p. illus.

"Suggestions for suitable commemoration by the schools of Massachusetts of the one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the Board of Education in Massachusetts, and the election of Horace Mann as its first secretary." Includes a radio play, "Horace Mann at Antioch," p175-82.

[61] MAYO, ARMORY DWIGHT. "Horace Mann and the Great Revival of the American Common Schools, 1830-1850." *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1896-97*, 1:745-67.

\*\*[62] MORGAN, ARTHUR E. "A Budget for Your Life." *Antioch College Bulletin*, Vol. 30, No. 4, January 1934. 38p.

[63] MORGAN, ARTHUR E. "Education for a New Society." *Antioch College Bulletin*, Vol. 30, No. 2, November 1933. 8p.

America must reevaluate her educational program in terms of economic change and social purpose. Reprinted from *Occupations* 12: 11-17, October 1933.

[64] MORGAN, ARTHUR E. "Horace Mann and the American Ideal of Education." *Proceedings of the National Education Association* 1937: 147-50.

Abridged, *Journal of the National Education Association* 26: 184, September 1937. Address before the NEA Life Membership Dinner, Detroit, June 28, 1937.

\*[64A] MORGAN, ARTHUR E. *The Long Road*. Washington, D. C., National Home Library Foundation, 1936. 144p.

A discussion of the need for "social wisdom" in economic and political affairs; a book described by Louis Adamic as "very much worth reading by anyone interested in America." For an excellent discussion of the Antioch philosophy, see Louis Adamic's *My America* (New York, Harper, 1938), p595-611 on "Arthur Morgan: Disciplined Pragmatist."

\*[65] MORGAN, ARTHUR E. "Not by Eastern Windows Only, The Dawn of a New Education." *Antioch College Bulletin*, Vol. 32, No. 6, March 1936. 24p.

The central aim and purpose of the Antioch program is the development of a wellbalanced, finely proportioned personality.

\*[66] MORGAN, JOY ELMER. *Horace Mann: His Ideas and Ideals*. Washington, D. C., National Home Library Foundation, 1936. 150p.

A sketch of Horace Mann's life; his "Lecture on Education"; his "Letter to School Children"; and short quotations from his writings. First printing, 115,000 copies; second printing (plano-graph) by the Horace Mann Centennial Committee, 3000 copies.

\*[67] MORGAN, LUCY G., Compiler. *The Story of Glen Helen, the Enlarged Campus of Antioch College*. Yellow Springs, Ohio, Antioch Press, 1931. 44p. ACL.

Beautifully illustrated. Hugh T. Birch's life and service in the upbuilding of Antioch College.

\*[68] NORTON, ARTHUR O., Editor. *First State Normal School in America: The Journals of Cyrus Peirce and Mary Swift*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1926. 299p. illus.

Contains valuable material for the 1939 centennial of the first normal school established by Horace Mann. Includes documents on history, regulations, and curriculum of the first normal schools, p253-63.

\*[69] OHIO STATE CENTENNIAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE. *Historical Sketch of Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Greene County, Ohio*. Pamphlet, 1876. 29p. ACL.

This material is presented in abridged form in R. S. Dills' *History of Greene County*, 32.

[70] OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY. *Edward Orton: Addresses Delivered at a Memorial Service*, Ohio State University, November 26, 1889. Columbus, Ohio University, 1899. Pamphlet, 62p. ACL.

Excellent portrait; Edward Orton was the famous geologist under whom Hugh T. Birch studied while at Antioch College.

\*[71] PEARSON, F. B., and HARLOW, J. D., compilers. *Ohio History Sketches*. Columbus, Press of Fred J. Heer, 1903. 342p.

For an account of Horace Mann's life by William Jackson Armstrong, who was present at Mann's death, see p195-204; and of Edward Orton, written by W. O. Thompson, p313-21.

\*[72] WM. F. PHELPS. *Chautauqua Text-Book Number Fourteen on Horace Mann*. Washington, D. C., Horace Mann Centennial Committee, National Education Association, 1937. 63p.

Except for a 4-page account of the 1937 Centennial with bibliography, this is a facsimile of one of the widely circulated Chautauqua study outlines.

[73] "Resolutions on the Death of Horace Mann." *Proceedings of the National Education Association* 1859: 5.

Resolutions adopted at the Washington, D. C., convention of the National Education Association, August 10, 1859.

[74] SABIN, HENRY. "Horace Mann's Country School." *Proceedings of the National Education Association* 1894: 204-10.

Address before the National Education Association, Asbury Park, New Jersey, July 13, 1894.

\*[75] SMITH, PAYSON, WINSHIP, A. E., and HARRIS, WM. T. *Horace Mann and Our Schools*. New York, American Book Co. 1937. 100p.

Three essays reprinted for the Centennial: "Horace Mann, His Central Mission" by Smith; "Horace Mann, America's Greatest Educator" by Winship; and "Horace Mann, Educational Missionary" by Wm. T. Harris (also in 39 and 46).

[76] SMITH, PAYSON. "Report of the Committee on the Horace Mann Centennial [for 1936]." *Proceedings of the National Education Association* 1936: 865-67.

Includes Calendar of Events and administration of the Centennial. See also 161.

[77] SMITH, PAYSON. "Report of the Committee on the Horace Mann Centennial [for 1937]." *Proceedings of the National Education Association* 1937: 858-60.

See also 125. The Committee's Report for 1938 is given in this book, p483-92.

[78] STITES, R. S. "Can Appreciation Be Taught?" *Bulletin of the Association of American Colleges*, 22: 559-62, December 1936.

[79] STRAKER, ROBERT L. "Benevolence in the Heroic Degree, Horace Mann's Service to Society." *Antioch Alumni Bulletin* 6: 7-9, February 1935.

The strongest and most effective force in the development of Mann's character was doubtless the religious atmosphere in which he grew up.

[80] STRAKER, ROBERT L. "Years of Exile: Horace Mann at Antioch, 1853-1859." *Antioch Alumni Bulletin* 6: 11-15, May 1935.

To accept the Antioch presidency at a salary less than one-third of what he might have earned at law or lecturing, Horace Mann sacrificed ties of love, friendship, and cultural communion in the East to go to the then remote West.

[81] VALLANCE, HARVARD FORREST. *A History of Antioch College*. Columbus, Ohio, Ohio State University, 1936. 500 ms. pages. ACL.

Ph.D. dissertation; 8-page bibliography; full table of contents; no index. First two chapters deal with "Origins and Founding" and "Antioch and Horace Mann." Has some value as a summary but shows little background or insight in its interpretations.

[82] WEBB, WALTER PRESCOTT. *Divided We Stand*. New York, Farrar & Rinehart, 1937. 239p.

An account of a new power composed of bankers, utility promoters, and life insurance magnates, which in this day threatens the integrity of self-government as did the slave power in the days of Horace Mann.

\*\*[83] WESTON, REV. J. B. *Horace Mann: A View of His Life and Its Meaning*. New York, Fowler and Wells, 1887. 24p. Two portraits. ACL.

A memorial address delivered at the unveiling of the monument to Horace Mann at Antioch College, June 1884.

\*[84] WILLIAMS, E. I. F. *Horace Mann, Educational Statesman*. New York, Macmillan, 1937. 367p. illus.

A painstaking and valuable study. Chapter 15, p307-28, is on "Antioch—the Last Six Years."

[85] WOODY, THOMAS. *History of Women's Education in the United States*. Lancaster, Pa., Science Press, 1929. Vol. I, 624p; Vol. II, 658p.

### *Magazines and Newspapers*

\*[86] ALLEN, REV. JOSEPH H. "Horace Mann." *Monthly Journal of the American Unitarian Association* [Boston] 1: 74-89, February 1860.

A tribute written shortly after Mann's death.

[87] "Antioch College." *Christian Palladium* 26: 168-70, July 18, 1857.

A discussion of the financial difficulties of Antioch with the plan for raising funds. No specific reference to Mann.

[88] "Antioch College." *Christian Palladium* 27: 344, December 18, 1858.

Urges that all friends of Antioch take part in the "dollar-a-year" plan for financing the College.

[89] "Antioch College." *Dayton Daily Empire*, Edit. page, col. 2, July 8, 1858.

"Horace Mann is unquestionably one of the leading educators of this age and his popularity as such may be inferred from the fact that when it was supposed his connection with this college

would terminate with this year, two of our western states at once sought to place him at the head of their normal schools. One state university tendered him its presidency and one university actually elected him president by a vote of eleven to one."

[90] "Antioch College." *New York Daily Tribune* 18: 7, col. 2, July 10, 1858.

Report of Antioch commencement of 1858 with brief summary of President Mann's Baccalaureate Address. Same, *Christian Palladium* 27: 170-71, July 17, 1858.

[91] "Antioch College Commencement, July 1." *Christian Palladium* 26: 184-87, August 1, 1857.

First commencement exercises at Antioch College with brief resume of the program. Two paragraphs on President Mann's Baccalaureate Address.

[92] "Antioch College Commencement." *Christian Palladium* 27: 179-82, July 31, 1858.

Account of the June 30, 1858 commencement; also of campus celebration following the announcement that funds needed to meet the "Rayburn claim" against the college had been raised.

[93] "Antioch College Redeemed." *Xenia Torch-Light* [Ohio] 21: 2, col. 4, August 11, 1858.

Public rejoicing in Yellow Springs upon news that money to pay the College debts had been raised.

[94] "Antioch—Second Commencement." *Xenia Torch-Light* [Ohio] 21: 2, col. 5, July 7, 1858.

Short account of 1858 commencement with a list of graduates and subjects of their addresses.

[95] "Appeal for Antioch College." *Christian Palladium* 27: 345-49, December 18, 1858.

Financial history of Antioch College with an analysis of its prospects.

\*[96] BADGER, HENRY C. "Letter from Antioch College." *Christian Palladium* 27: 333-35, December 4, 1858; concluded, 27: 385-87, January 29, 1859.

Eloquent and scholarly rebuttal to critics of Mann's policies at Antioch, written by a student who taught in the college before and after graduation, during Mann's presidency.

[97] BELLOWES, HENRY W. "To the Scattered Students and Friends of Antioch College." *Christian Palladium* 28: 254, August 20, 1859.

Also in *Christian Herald and Messenger* 11: 2, August 1859.

[98] BOND, HORACE MANN. "Horace Mann in New Orleans: A Note on the Decline of Humanitarianism in American Education." *School and Society* 45: 607-11, May 1, 1937.

Stresses Mann's lifelong devotion to racial equality, adding: "As president of Antioch College, Horace Mann established an institution that vied with Oberlin College for the then-dubious distinction of welcoming as students two despised classes—women and Negroes. Even more, he insisted that his Negro students be entertained in the college dormitories, and at the college dining-tables along with the other students. . . . His course cost him the support of powerful interests, meeting with opposition both from trustees and from members of the faculty."

[99] CHARLES, T. "Reminiscences of Horace Mann While at Antioch by One of His Students." *Kindergarten Magazine* 8: 626-31, May 1896.

[100] CRAIG, AUSTIN. "Death of Horace Mann." *Christian Herald and Messenger* 11, No. 25: 2-3, 1859.

[101] CRAVEN, ELEANOR, and SANDISON, MILDRED. "Let the Next Generation Be My Client: A Centennial Play." *Journal of the National Education Association* 26: 45-46, February 1937. Portrait.

\*[102] DE NORMANDIE, JAMES. "Horace Mann as an Educator." *University Quarterly* 1: 65-76, January 1860.

Horace Mann's educational achievements, particularly at Antioch College.

[103] "Death of Horace Mann." *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* 30: 2, col. 1-2, August 3, 1859; also, 30: 2, August 6, 1859.

[104] "Death of Horace Mann." *Christian Inquirer* 13: 1, August 20, 1859.

\*\*[105] "Death of Horace Mann," Editorial. *Christian Palladium*, 28: 248-53, August 20, 1859.

[106] "Death-bed of Horace Mann; Interesting Letter from One of His Students." *Christian Inquirer* 14: 1, October 1, 1859. Same, *Boston Journal* 27: 5, October 1, 1859.

[107] DEWEY, JOHN. "Horace Mann Today." *Social Frontier* 3: 41-42, November 1936. Abstract in *Education Digest*, p12-14, January 1937.

"The two guiding principles of Mann's activity were faith in the capacity of a people for free government and a stern conviction that this potentiality could be made actual only through a system of free public education."

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[116] HALL, E. B. "The Educator—Horace Mann." *Providence Journal* 30:1, September 13, 1859.

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[117] HAWTHORNE, JULIAN. "Uncle Horace Mann as I Remember Him." *Dearborn Independent* 28: 16-17, October 22, 1927.

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[119] HIRST, COSMELIA. "A Bit of Early History." *The Antiochian*, Ser. 4, 6:2, March 25, 1925. ACL.

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[122] "Horace Mann and Antioch College." *Christian Examiner* 79:252, September 1865.

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[123] "Horace Mann and Beverage Alcohol." *Journal of the National Education Association* 20:178, May 1931.

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[124] "Horace Mann at Association Headquarters." *Journal of the National Education Association* 18:25, January 1929.

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[125] "Horace Mann Centennial." *Journal of the National Education Association* 26:183, September 1937.

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[126] "Horace Mann Centennial Conference." *Journal of the National Education Association* 25:242, November 1936.

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[128] "Horace Mann Monument." *The Antiochian*, Ser. 2, 9: 20-21, June 1884.

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[129] "Horace Mann's Views of Immortality." *Christian Palladium* 29:4-5, January 7, 1860.

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[131] HUTCHINS, ROBERT M. "Why Go to College?" *Saturday Evening Post* 210: 16-17, January 22, 1938.

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[132] "In Horace Mann's Memory; Impressive Exercises at the Normal College." *New York Daily Tribune* 56: 2, May 5, 1896.

[133] KILPATRICK, WILLIAM H. "Horace Mann and the American Dream." *Journal of the National Education Association* 26: 43-44, February 1937.

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[134] "Letters Concerning Antioch College." *Christian Palladium* 26: 268-69, October 10, 1857; and 26: 332-35, December 5, 1857.

[135] LEWIS, ELEANOR. "Seventy-five Years of an Ideal—Antioch College." *Dearborn Independent* 26: 2, November 28, 1925.

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[136] LONG, DANIEL ALBRIGHT. "Horace Mann: The One Hundredth Anniversary of This Distinguished Man Appropriately Celebrated at Antioch College." *Yellow Springs Review* [Ohio] 16: 4, May 8, 1896.

\*\*[137] LONG, DANIEL ALBRIGHT. "Letter to George C. Mann." *The Antiochian*, Ser. 2, 12: 9-10, February 1887.

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1887, and enclosing the resolutions drawn up by a committee of the faculty.

[138] "Mann Centenary." *Time* 28:42, October 26, 1936.

[139] MANN, MARY PEABODY. "Letter from." *The Antiochian*. Ser. 2, 12:1, November 1886.

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[140] McANDREW, WILLIAM. "Notes on an Educational Pilgrimage to Antioch College." *School and Society* 29:449-58, April 6, 1929.

[141] MORGAN, ARTHUR E. "Almus Pater." *Atlantic Monthly* 143:774-82, June 1929.

[142] MORGAN, ARTHUR E. "Reality and Education." *Journal of the National Education Association* 20:257, October 1931.

"Our goal at Antioch is not primarily scholarship; it is not primarily wise vocational choice. . . . It is rather to see life as a whole; to bring into development the latent qualities of personality in the proportion that is important to the young person in question; to accustom youth to life so that after college he will meet it effectively."

[143] MORGAN, ARTHUR E. "Transforming the American College System." *Current History* 32:717-20, July 1930.

[144] MORGAN, JOY ELMER. "Horace Mann and Our Association." *Journal of the National Education Association* 14:1-2, January 1925.

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Facsimile of a broadside printed on art cardboard for framing in schools and libraries. Quotes from Mann's statement on temperance written for the Ohio State Teachers Association at Columbus, 1856.

[148] MUNDER, NORMAN T. A. "Horace Mann Broadside: Thoughts from His Writings." *Journal of the National Education Association* 26:84, March 1937.

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[149] NIETZ, JOHN A. "Horace Mann's Ideas on General Methods in Education." *Elementary School Journal* 37:742-51, June 1937.

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[150] NIXON, HUGH. "Horace Mann: A Brief Sketch." *West Virginia School Journal* 65:6-7, March 1937.

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[151] "Our American Heritage of Leadership." *Journal of the National Education Association* 24: 249-56, December 1935.

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[152] PARKER, FRANCIS W. "Hero of the American Common Schools; Centennial of the Birth of Horace Mann, Greatest American Educator." *Sunday Times-Herald* (Chicago) Part 4: 39, May 3, 1896.

[153] PATTY, ALBERT T. "Horace Mann as Franklin, Massachusetts, Knew Him." *Massachusetts Teacher* 16: 5-7, January 1937.

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[154] "Proceedings of the United States General Convention of Christians." *Christian Palladium* 27: 277-80, October 23, 1858.

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[155] QUINCY, JOSIAH. "Letter from Hon. Josiah Quincy." *Christian Palladium* 27: 206, August 14, 1858.

A letter to the graduating class of Antioch College expressing regret at being unable to deliver the commencement address and paying tribute to President Horace Mann: "The recollections of a long life present to my mind no individual whose course embraces more of wisdom, talent or usefulness."

[156] ROBERTS, O. H. "Antioch College in New-England." *Christian Palladium* 26: 46, March 28, 1857.

A letter from the Treasurer for New-England explaining the plan for raising funds for Antioch College by allotment of a certain amount to the various states, which had agreed to take part.

[157] SABIN, HENRY. "Horace Mann, How He Influenced My Life." *Kindergarten Magazine* (Chicago) 8: 621-25, May 1896.

[158] SAMUELSON, AGNES. "Mann's Idea of a Good Teacher." *Midland Schools* 51: 314, May 1937. [Horace Mann Number]

[159] SAMUELSON, AGNES. "Our Debt to Horace Mann." *School and Society* 47: 1-6, January 1, 1938.

Address at the annual convention of the Iowa State Teachers Association, November 6, 1937. Mann's educational philosophy as illustrated in his writings.

[160] SCHWIENHER, LUCY M. "The Harris Essay on Horace Mann." *School and Society* 44: 568-70, October 31, 1936.

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[163] SONTAG, CONSTANCE G. "Antioch's Cooperative Plan: How It Contributes to Occupational Adjustment." *Occupations* 13: 496-502, March 1935.

[164] "To Honor Horace Mann: Hundredth Anniversary of his Birth To Be Celebrated in Gala Style." *New York Herald*, 61st year, No. 21774: 7, col. 1, April 3, 1896.

\*\*[165] TUFTS, MRS. A. H. "Scraps and Recollections." *The Antiochian*, Ser. 2, 12: 4-7, May 1887; also Ser. 2, 14: 11, November 1888.

Impressions of Horace Mann by a student at Antioch during his presidency.

[166] TULLEYS, L. W. "Recollections of Student Days Under Horace Mann." *The Antiochian*, Ser. 4, 2: 1, November 1920.

"I was a student at Antioch from 1854-1858 during Horace Mann's administration. . . . His personal appearance is indelibly impressed upon my mind and I can see him today, his tall, majestic form standing upon the platform upstairs, as vividly as 64 years ago. . . . His teachings were of the exalted type such as made a permanent imprint upon the young mind, lifting it into the realm of lofty ideals, starting it out on a career of service for God and humanity. Loyalty to the truth characterized his every utterance."

[167] VANLEEUVEN, MATTHEW J. "Franklin Honors Horace Mann." *Massachusetts Teacher* 16: 9-10, February 1937.

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Letter of tribute to Horace Mann.

[170] WILLIAMS, E. I. F. "Horace Mann and the Normal Schools." *Education* 56: 206-10, December 1935.

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